# CICERO

## THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

I

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# CICERO

## THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## I

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# CONTENTS OF VOLUME I



## BOOK I



## BOOK II



## BOOK III

# CONTENTS

## BOOK IV



## BOOK V

## CONTENTS



## BOOK VI

# INTRODUCTION

This collection of Cicero's "Letters to his Friends" was preserved and edited by his secretary Tiro. The collection is inadequately entitled, as it includes several letters, some of them of profound interest, from his friends to Cicero. There are 426 letters, divided into sixteen books, not arranged in any sort of order,[a] chronological or otherwise, except that letters from or to particular correspondents are generally grouped together; the third book, for instance, consists exclusively of letters from Cicero to Appius Claudius Pulcher, and the eighth book of letters from Marcus Caelius Rufus to Cicero.

The earliest letter is one from Cicero to Pompey (x. 7) dated 62 B.C., the year after Cicero's consulship; the latest is one from him to Cassius (xii. 10) written in 43 B.C., the year after the assassination of Caesar, and a few months before his own.

These nineteen years from 62 to 43 B.C. cover a period of supreme importance in the history of the Roman Republic—a period more minutely described and vividly illustrated in these letters, giving us as they do the different points of view of various correspondents, than even in the "Letters to Atticus," written by Cicero alone.

[a] The confusion thus caused is to some extent obviated by a summary, in chronological order, prefixed to each volume, of the events in each year covered by the Letters.

# INTRODUCTION

The Letters vary greatly in interest and style; while many of them contain matter of the highest literary or historical value—as, for instance, Cicero's explanation of his political change of front (i. 9), Sulpicius Rufus's letter of condolence to Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia (iv. 5) and Matius's defence of his friendship for Caesar (xi. 28)—others are no more than merely formal documents.

The text is based on that of Nobbe (1849); but where there was an obvious call for emendation in that text I have not hesitated to adopt other readings, always with due acknowledgement.

Such universally accepted orthographical corrections as *cum* for *quum*, *consili* for *consilii*, and *causa* for *caussa* I have made as a matter of course.

To Tyrrell and Purser's exhaustive (it has rightly been described as "monumental") *Commentary on the Correspondence of Cicero*[a] I have made constant reference, and owe more than I can tell; I have depended upon it, too, for the dates of the letters. Watson's *Select Letters* (with the recently revised edition by Mr. W. W. How), and Pritchard and Bernard's *Selected Letters for the use of Schools* have been of invaluable assistance to me, and I have freely consulted the admirable translations of all or some of the letters by E. S. Shuckburgh, G. E. Jeans, and S. H. Jeyes.

To all the above distinguished Ciceronians I acknowledge with gratitude my very deep indebtedness.

[a] Referred to in my notes for the sake of brevity as "Tyrrell."

# INTRODUCTION

## The Manuscripts

The oldest and soundest MS. of the *Epistulae ad Familiares* is the Codex Mediceus 49. 9, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. This is known as M. Other MSS., each giving some of the letters, are:

G, Codex Harleianus 2773, in the British Museum.
R, Codex Parisianus 17812, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
(G and R are closely connected, and both independent of M.)
T, Codex Turonensis 688, in the Library of Tours.
H, Codex Harleianus 2682, in the British Museum.
F, Codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis, 252, which closely follows H.
D, Codex Palatinus, originally at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican.

Of these M alone contains all the *Epistulae ad Familiares*, G, R, and T giving different portions of Bks. I. to VIII., and H, F, and D of Bks. IX. to XVI.

# A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

## OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CICERO

DATE B.C.

106. Cicero is born on Jan. 3 near Arpinum.

89. Serves under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War.

86. Writes his *De inventione*.

80. Delivers his speech *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*.

79-78. Travels in Greece and Asia.

77. Returns to Rome, and marries Terentia.

75-74. Serves as quaestor for Lilybaeum in Sicily.

70. Accuses Verres. First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.

69. Curule aedile.

66. Praetor. Speech *Pro lege Manilia*.

64. Elected Consul with C. Antonius Hybrida (the latter by a small majority over Catiline).

### 63 B.C.

§ 1. Cicero, being now consul, successfully opposes the agrarian law of the tribune P. Servilius Rullus, which was in the interests of Caesar and Crassus, and

intended to check the growing power of Pompey. Caesar is elected Pontifex Maximus. Cicero carries in the Senate the proposal of a *supplicatio* of unusual length to Pompey in honour of his eastern triumphs.

§ 2. Having conciliated his colleague C. Antonius by resigning to him the governorship in 62 of the rich province of Macedonia, Cicero felt himself able in the autumn of 63 to oppose the treasonable designs of L. Sergius Catilina, of which he had full information from the spy, L. Curius. In the consular elections for 62 Catiline was again defeated. On October 21 Cicero foretold the rising of the Catilinarian Manlius in Etruria on the 27th. Martial law was proclaimed, and the conspirators failed in an attempt to seize Praeneste on November 1, and another plot to murder Cicero was exposed. But Catiline had the audacity to appear in the Senate on November 8, when Cicero so crushingly denounced him that he left Rome to take command of the insurgents in Etruria.

§ 3. Certain envoys of the Allobroges, having been approached by the conspirators to supply Catiline with cavalry, were arrested, and on the strength of incriminating letters found upon them the following five conspirators were seized and imprisoned — P. Lentulus Sura (praetor), C. Cethegus (senator), L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Cimber, and M. Caeparius; and at a meeting of the Senate on December 5, mainly at the instance of M. Cato, though Caesar, then praetor elect, was opposed to it, a decree was carried that the five conspirators arrested should be put to death, and that same evening they were strangled under Cicero's supervision.

§ 4. On December 29 the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos vetoed Cicero's address to the people on going out of office, alleging that "he had put citizens to death without a trial"; but Cicero's declaration that he had thereby saved his country was received with applause. This Metellus was one of Pompey's officers and was probably instigated by his general, who was chagrined that Cicero, and not he, should have quelled the conspiracy.

## 62 B.C.

### *Consuls: D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena*

§ 1. Catiline, making for Cisalpine Gaul with Manlius's army, is met by Metellus Celer and thrown back on the army of C. Antonius. In a battle near Pistoria the insurgents were utterly and finally defeated, and Catiline slain.

§ 2. Cicero resents Pompey's lukewarm appreciation of his services to the Republic (v. 7).

§ 3. In December P. Claudius Pulcher, commonly known as Clodius, "one of the most profligate characters of a profligate age," disguised as a female musician profaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea, which were being celebrated by Roman matrons at the house of Caesar. He was discovered and brought to trial in 61.

## 61 B.C.

### *Consuls: M. Pupius Piso and M. Valerius Messalla Niger*

§ 1. Pompey, having returned from the east and disbanded his army in the preceding December,

addressed the Roman people in January of this year, but failed to create a good impression. He disapproved of the bill for Clodius's prosecution, and being distrusted by the extremists in the Senate, found himself so isolated that he made overtures to Cicero.

§ 2. The consul Pupius Piso also opposed the bill for an inquiry into Clodius's affair, but the trial ultimately came on, with the result that by means of the grossest bribery Clodius was acquitted. Cicero had given evidence cancelling an alibi put up by Clodius, who swore to be avenged upon him, and proved to be a formidable foe, owing to his family connexions, and his influence over the city populace.

## 60 B.C.

*Consuls: L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer*

§ 1. Led by the consul Metellus Celer, now at enmity with Pompey for having divorced his half-sister Mucia, the Senate, by obstinately opposing Pompey's plans in Asia and grants of land to his veterans, completely alienated him, and by refusing all concessions to the *publicani* in Asia offended the *equites* from among whom the *publicani* were mainly drawn. Pompey was ultimately forced into a coalition with Caesar, who returned to Rome in June to canvass for the consulship, which by the aid of Pompey and Crassus he secured.

§ 2. The *optimates*, however, brought about by bribery the election as Caesar's colleague of

M. Calpurnius Bibulus, a staunch aristocrat, but a *fainéant* consul.

§ 3. Caesar, having effected the reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus, now invited Cicero to join them, but he preferred to retain his independence, and the coalition (incorrectly called the first triumvirate) of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, to which he might have belonged, was established without him.

## 59 B.C.

*Consuls: C. Julius Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus*

§ 1. Caesar, having failed to carry through the Senate an agrarian law providing *inter alia* for Pompey's veterans, brought another law before the assembly of the people distributing the *ager Campanus* among those veterans, and this law was carried despite the opposition of the consul Bibulus and some of the tribunes.

§ 2. P. Vatinius, one of the most unprincipled men of the time, was a humble hireling of Caesar, and now as tribune he carried the famous Lex Vatinia, which gave Caesar the command of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with three legions for five years; and the Senate, on the motion of Pompey (now, by his marriage with Julia, Caesar's son-in-law), added Transalpine Gaul to his command, with a fourth legion.

§ 3. In March Cicero, in defending his former colleague C. Antonius, who was accused of extortion as proconsul of Macedonia, attacked the triumvirate, causing grave offence to Caesar, who immediately

retaliated by sanctioning the adoption into a plebeian family of Cicero's enemy Clodius, thus making him eligible for the tribunate, where he would be in a stronger position to wreak his vengeance on Cicero.

## 58 B.C.

*Consuls : L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus and Aulus Gabinius*

§ 1. Clodius, who had been elected tribune in the preceding October, having carried some very popular measures in January, further established his position in February by promulgating a law assigning to the consuls on their going out of office the provinces they most desired—Syria to Gabinius, and Macedonia with Achaia to Piso,—but he made the law contingent upon the passing of two other measures which were subsequently carried—(1) a commission giving to Cato the annexation of Cyprus, and (2) an enactment " that anyone who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should be forbidden fire and water."

§ 2. Cicero, realizing that the enactment was aimed at himself, put on mourning and threw himself on the mercy of the people. The senators and *equites* also went into mourning, but were compelled by an edict of the consuls to dress as usual. Caesar stated in public that he thought Cicero had acted illegally in putting Lentulus Sura to death, and Pompey, on being appealed to, referred Cicero to the consuls, who had already shown their hostility. Finally Cicero, at the instance of his family and Hortensius, left Rome and went into exile at the end of March. He was immediately declared an outlaw by Clodius,

and his house on the Palatine and villas at Formiae and Tusculum were pillaged and dismantled.

§ 3. Cicero went to Brundisium and thence to Thessalonica, where he sojourned for seven months at the house of his friend, the quaestor Cn. Plancius. As the year went on the situation at Rome became brighter for him ; Clodius had offended Pompey by aiding the escape from Rome of the Armenian prince Tigranes whom Pompey had captured, by defeating the consul Gabinius in a street riot, and even forcing Pompey to shut himself up in his house. Moreover, Lentulus Spinther, one of the consuls elected, was personally devoted to Cicero, and the other, Metellus Nepos, a friend of Pompey ; while among the new tribunes T. Annius Milo, T. Fadius, and P. Sestius strenuously advocated Cicero's recall. His son-in-law also, C. Calpurnius Piso, who had married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63, and was now quaestor, exercised what influence he had in the interests of his father-in-law.

### 57 B.C.

*Consuls : P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos*

§ 1. No sooner had the consul Lentulus entered into office on January 1 than he brought before the Senate, with the approval of Pompey, the question of Cicero's recall ; and despite the obstruction of two of the tribunes, the people, led by Fabricius and all the praetors (except Appius Claudius Pulcher, Clodius's brother), passed in their Assembly (the *comitia centuriata*) on January 23 a provisional decree recalling Cicero. The Senate thanked Cn. Plancius and others for sheltering Cicero in his

banishment, and summoned the Italians to vote finally for his recall in the Assembly, and the bill was carried with enthusiastic unanimity on August 4, the voters being protected from Clodius and his armed ruffians by troops under the command of Milo.

§ 2. Cicero, who had come down to Dyrrachium in the preceding autumn, now crossed over to Brundisium, where he was informed by his brother Quintus of the passing of the decree for his recall, and, after a triumphal progress homeward, re-entered Rome amid universal rejoicings on September 4.

§ 3. Later on, on the motion of Cicero, Pompey is granted the *imperium* in the form of the control of the corn supply (*curatio rei annonariae*) for five years; and on the expiry of their terms of office Lentulus receives Cilicia, and Nepos Hither Spain, as his province.

§ 4. Ptolemy Auletes (the Flute-player), king of Egypt, father of Cleopatra, having been expelled by his subjects, comes to seek the assistance of Rome, and the Senate decrees that his restoration should be entrusted to the next governor of Cilicia, *i.e.* the then consul, Lentulus Spinther.

56 B.C.

*Consuls: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who supported the* optimates *and opposed the triumvirs; and L. Marcius Philippus, who later married Atia, widow of C. Octavius, and so became the stepfather of Augustus*

§ 1. In January the question of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes is reopened and hotly debated in the Senate, and Cicero sends Lentulus, now proconsul of Cilicia, a full account of the voting. Pompey,

though ostensibly supporting the claims of Lentulus to effect the restoration, was anxious to secure for himself a commission which would not only be highly lucrative, but would give him a fleet, an army, and a base in Egypt. Cicero felt bound to support his benefactor Lentulus, and the majority of the Senate were afraid or jealous of Pompey, when, very opportunely for them, the tribune C. Cato discovered a Sibylline oracle, forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy by anyone *cum multitudine hominum* (" with a host of men "). This is the *religio* referred to in Bk. i. 2 and 3. The wranglings in the Senate ended in no settlement, but Ptolemy was ultimately restored by A. Gabinius in 55.

§ 2. Clodius, who still lorded it in the streets of Rome, escaped being prosecuted by Milo by being elected curule aedile, and turned the tables on Milo by accusing him in February of *vis* (breach of the peace). Pompey, when defending Milo, was shouted down by Clodius's ruffians, who declared that Crassus, and not Pompey, should restore Ptolemy. This led Pompey to suspect that Crassus was aiding and abetting the rioters. The result of the trial was the closer alliance of Pompey and Milo, and the more definite support of Clodius by the extreme aristocrats—Curio, Bibulus, Favonius, and others.

§ 3. Later in February, Cicero, in defending P. Sestius, who had strongly favoured his recall, and was now accused of *vis*, made his speech (as Watson describes it) " a regular political manifesto," and converted his *interrogatio* (cross-examination) of P. Vatinius, now a witness for the prosecution, into a bitter attack upon him as the author of the Lex Vatinia in 59 (see 59 B.C., § 2). The acquittal

of Sestius encouraged Cicero to hope for the restoration of the Republic, or at any rate the dissolution of the coalition, Pompey being still at feud with Crassus (§ 2) and jealous of Caesar.

§ 4. Cicero therefore, partly with a view of widening the breach between Pompey and Caesar, proposed the suspension of Caesar's law about the *ager Campanus* (see 59 B.C., § 1) on the grounds that the State could not afford any more allotments. This would not affect Pompey, whose veterans had already been provided for, whereas Caesar would be precluded from using the remaining land for his own veterans. He also saw that the repeal of the agrarian law would be followed by that of the Vatinian.

§ 5. Having therefore previously interviewed Crassus at Ravenna, Caesar took him with him to join Pompey at Luca, a town of Liguria in N. Italy; and here the coalition of 60 (see 60 B.C., § 3) was not only renewed but developed into an omnipotent triumvirate who could settle the affairs of the State at their own discretion.

§ 6. This to Cicero, the Republican, and lifelong advocate of *concordia ordinum* ("the harmony of the senatorial and equestrian orders"), was a crushing political calamity, but he had to bow to the inevitable, and the famous letter 9 in Bk. I. is his *apologia* for his change of front. Withdrawing his motion on the *ager Campanus*, he supported a motion in the Senate to provide pay for Caesar's troops and allowing him to appoint ten *legati*. This was followed by his brilliant speech *De provinciis consularibus*, practically a panegyric upon Caesar and his achievements in Gaul.

§ 7. Clodius's turbulence in 56–57 had estranged Pompey, who now leaned to the side of Milo, but the extreme *optimates* (including M. Cato, who was indebted to Clodius for a commission to settle the affairs of Cyprus in 58) showed such fulsome partiality for Clodius, that Cicero, being earnestly requested by Caesar, whom he could not now disobey, to undertake the defence of Vatinius, whom he particularly detested, adroitly converted his predicament into a means of annoying the *optimates* saying that "if *they* coquetted with one Publius (viz. Clodius), *he* would coquet with another Publius (viz. Vatinius) by way of reprisal" (i. 9. 19).

## 55 B.C.

*Consuls (after an "interregnum" in January caused by the tribune C. Cato): Cn. Pompeius and M. Licinius Crassus, both for the second time, having been consuls together in* 70

§ 1. Crassus carries his Lex Licinia for the suppression of *sodalicia* ("political combinations"). Pompey opens his new theatre with shows of unparalleled magnificence, but his wholesale slaughter of elephants disgusts not only Cicero, but the people generally.

§ 2. Cicero finishes his *De oratore*. Crassus sets out for Syria, and his departure, together with the death of Pompey's wife Julia, Caesar's daughter, put an end to even the semblance of friendship between Pompey and Caesar.

§ 3. Gabinius marches into Egypt, occupies Alexandria, and restores the ex-king Ptolemy Auletes.

## 54 B.C.

*Consuls: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, an optimate, who married M. Cato's sister Porcia, and fell at Pharsalia in 48, and Appius Claudius Pulcher*

§ 1. Cicero helps to secure the acquittal of his former enemy, P. Vatinius, who requited his kindness after Pharsalia and later, and at Pompey's instance defends, though unsuccessfully, his former enemy, A. Gabinius; and also defends successfully his old friend Cn. Plancius, charged with *ambitus*, in his famous speech *Pro Plancio*.

§ 2. His brother, Q. Cicero, goes over from Pompey to Caesar as his legate, and serves him with distinction in Britain and Gaul; and this leads to a *rapprochement* between Cicero and Caesar.

## 53 B.C.

*Consuls, after disorder lasting till July: Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messalla*

Defeat and murder of M. Crassus in June, near Carrhae. Cicero is more deeply affected by the death, a little earlier, of M. Crassus's son, Publius (v. 8. 4). Cicero succeeds Crassus as augur, and supports Milo's candidature for the consulship, recommending him to C. Scribonius Curio, to whom he writes a series of letters (ii. 1-7)

## 52 B.C.

About the middle of January Clodius is slain near Bovillae by the retainers of Milo: his body is burned by his supporters in the forum, when the senate-house caught fire and was destroyed; martial law

is proclaimed, and finally Pompey is made sole consul, being allowed to retain the government of Spain. Milo is accused of *vis* and condemned. He goes into exile at Massilia.

### 51 B.C.

*Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Rufus and M. Claudius Marcellus*

Cicero goes to Cilicia as proconsul, succeeding Appius Claudius, who had succeeded Lentulus in 54, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus goes to Syria. Cicero is kept fully informed of what occurs in Rome by his friend M. Caelius Rufus (Bk. VIII. of these Letters).

### 50 B.C.

*Consuls: C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the consul for 51, and L. Aemilius Paullus*

§ 1. Cicero, after a satisfactory tenure of office, quits his province, leaving C. Caelius Caldus, his quaestor, in charge, and reaches Rome in December. He is anxious about the honours due to his Cilician successes, having so far only had a *supplicatio* voted him, but no triumph; he is also embarrassed about the marriage of his daughter Tullia with P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was prosecuting for treason Appius Claudius Pulcher, with whom Cicero desired a reconciliation.

§ 2. A motion in the Senate, that Caesar's candidature for the consulship should be considered in his absence, having been rejected, the tribune Scribonius Curio demands the disbanding of Pompey's army, which the Senate would have passed but for

the opposition of the consul Marcellus. Curio openly declares for Caesar, whom he joins at Ravenna, thus, according to Lucan, turning the scales against the Pompeian party (*momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum*).

### 49 B.C.

*Consuls: L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of his namesake, the consul for* 50, *and brother of the consul for* 51

The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, accompanied by Caelius Rufus, leave Rome and join Caesar, who on January 11 crosses the Rubicon, and thereby declares war upon the Republic, and marching southwards finally besieges Pompey in Brundisium. On March 17 Pompey escapes to Dyrrachium, whither the consuls had gone with the bulk of his army on March 4. Cicero vacillates as to his future policy, but finally decides to throw in his lot with Pompey.

### 48 B.C.

*Consuls: C. Julius Caesar (for the second time) and P. Servilius Isauricus*

Cicero spends the first half of the year in Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium, where he conceives a poor opinion of Pompey's army; he is still there when he hears of the utter defeat of Pompey by Caesar near Pharsalus on August 7 and his flight to Egypt. Crossing with the Pompeians from Dyrrachium to Corcyra, Cicero is threatened with death by young Cn. Pompey for refusing to take the command as senior consular. In October he returns to Italy and settles in Brundisium.

## 47 B.C.

*Consuls: Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius, but only for Oct., Nov., and Dec.*

§ 1. Though allowed to remain in Italy when all other Pompeians were driven out, Cicero was not happy; he had broken with his brother Quintus, and Terentia (he alleged) had mismanaged his financial affairs in his absence; while Dolabella, his son-in-law, was so notoriously unfaithful to Tullia as to make a divorce inevitable.

§ 2. He was consoled, however, by a reassuring letter from Caesar in Egypt, who permitted him to retain his lictors and the title of *imperator*; on Caesar's return Cicero met him and was cordially received, and being given leave to live wherever he liked, he chose Tusculum, so as to be near Rome.

§ 3. Dolabella, now tribune, agitating for the abolition of debts, is opposed by his colleague, Trebellius, and the ensuing riots had to be quelled by troops under M. Antonius.

§ 4. Towards the end of the year, through Caesar's influence, Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius are elected consuls.

## 46 B.C.

*Consuls: C. Julius Caesar (third time) and M. Aemilius Lepidus*

§ 1. Caesar defeats the Pompeian army under Scipio at Thapsus in Africa, and M. Cato, preferring death to slavery, commits suicide at Utica. Returning to Rome and celebrating four triumphs in August

for his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa, Caesar is made Dictator for the year.

§ 2. Cicero's letters now show a more cheerful spirit; he had now divorced Terentia, and after a short interval married his young and wealthy ward, Publilia; the marriage, however, was an unhappy one.

§ 3. Cicero wrote this year his *Partitiones oratoriae*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*.

### 45 B.C.

*Consul (fourth time): C. Julius Caesar*

§ 1. In February Tullia, shortly after her divorce from Dolabella, died in childbed. Cicero, who had loved her devotedly, refused to be comforted and sought refuge in the solitude of Astura.

§ 2. Caesar now openly aimed at monarchy, and Cicero especially resented, as an insult to the senatorial order, the election as consul for one day of Caninius Rebilus.

### 44 B.C.

§ 1. Caesar, now consul for the fifth time and dictator for the fourth, had already by his arrogance and ill-concealed ambition aroused the opposition of the republicans, and a conspiracy had long been maturing which culminated in his assassination on March 15 at the foot of Pompey's statue in the senate-house. By his will he adopted C. Octavius and made him his chief heir.

§ 2. On the 17th, at a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Tellus, Cicero proposed an amnesty, which the Senate passed, but at the same time ratified all Caesar's acts. After this he retired into private life for six months.

§ 3. He had already completed his *Tusculan Disputations* and *De natura deorum*, and during the remainder of the year composed his *De amicitia, De senectute*, *De officiis*, and several other works.

43 B.C.

*Consuls: C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius*

After a series of events too complicated even to summarize here,[a] C. Octavius, by then called Octavianus, formed a triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, who removed their chief opponents by *proscriptio*. Among the proscribed was Cicero, who was slain on December 7th, when he was approaching the end of his sixty-fourth year.

[a] A full note on the Cisalpine Campaign will be found at the beginning of Book X.

# CICERO'S
# LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS
## BOOKS I–VI

# M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

## LIBER PRIMUS

### I

M. TULLIUS CICERO SALUTEM DAT PLURIMAM LENTULO PROCONSULI

Romae, Idibus Ianuariis, A.U.C. 698.

1 Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satisfacio omnibus, mihi ipsi numquam satisfacio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritorum, ut, quoniam tu, nisi perfecta re, de me non conquiesti, ego non idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In causa haec sunt. Ammonius, regis legatus, aperte pecunia nos

[a] P. Cornelius Spinther was consul in 57, when he urged the recall of Cicero from exile. He was proconsul of Cilicia from 56 to 53. During the Civil War he was a staunch Pompeian.

[b] Ptolemy XII., nicknamed Auletes (the Flute-player), king of Egypt, having been expelled by his subjects, appealed to the Roman Senate in 57 to restore him. The Senate were disposed to do so, but had to decide between rival candidates for the office of reinstating him. Lentulus, to whom this letter is addressed, should have been appointed to do so *ex officio* as proconsul of Cilicia, but Pompey, though ostensibly supporting Lentulus, coveted the commission for himself. The Senate, though generally opposed to Pompey's claims, shrank from downright refusal; but, opportunely for them,



# CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## BOOK I

### I

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, PROCONSUL OF CILICIA,[a] WITH HEARTIEST GREETINGS FROM M. TULLIUS CICERO

Rome, January 13, 56 B.C.

In any such dutiful, or rather affectionate, regard as I show you I satisfy the world; myself I can never satisfy. Such is the magnitude of your services to me, that when I think how you gave yourself no rest in what concerned me until you had fully achieved your purpose, while I have no such success on your behalf, I feel that life is embittered to me. The reasons are these: Ammonius, the king's[b] repre- 1

the tribune C. Cato produced a Sibylline oracle forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy "by the employment of a host of men" (*cum multitudine hominum*), which gave them a pretext for not commissioning Pompey, who already held the *imperium*. This is the *religio* referred to in this and the next letter. Cicero favoured the plea of *religio* in the interests of Lentulus; the orator, Q. Hortensius, his great rival in the forum, and M. Licinius Lucullus, who acted as Pontifex Maximus for Caesar in 57, supported him, because they wished to keep out Pompey. The whole question was ultimately shelved by a resolution (*auctoritas*) of the Senate, forbidding the restoration altogether. Ptolemy, however, was restored in 55 by A. Gabinius for a bribe of 10,000 talents.

oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis causa, si qui sunt, qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed malevolentia et illius regiae
2 largitionis invidia comprobat. Pompeium et hortari et orare et iam liberius accusare et monere, ut magnam infamiam fugiat, non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris, nec admonitionibus reliquit locum. Nam cum in sermone quotidiano, tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam, ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam, neque gravitate, nec studio, nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum tibi[1] esse iratum scis. Is tamen, hac regia causa excepta, ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat, accipimus; quod instituit referre de religione et
3 saepe iam retulit, ab eo deduci non potest. Res ante Idus acta sic est,—nam haec Idibus mane scripsi, Hortensi et mea et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu (teneri enim res aliter non potest), sed ex illo senatusconsulto, quod te re-

[1] regi *Corradus*: tibicini (" *the royal flute-player* ") *is an ingenious conjecture based on the* tibi *of the* MSS., *which, especially with Reid's insertion of* tamen *in the next sentence, presents no difficulty.*

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[a] Consul for the year. See next letter.





sentative, makes no secret of countering us by means of bribery; the business is being managed with the aid of those very financiers who advanced the money for it when you were in Rome. Any—and they are but few—who are well disposed to the king, are unanimous in wishing that the matter should be put in Pompey's hands, while the Senate accepts the fictitious plea of religious scruples, not for any reason of religion, but it is jealous of Pompey, and disgusted at the king's lavish bribery.

As regards Pompey, I never cease urging and im- 2
ploring him—nay even frankly rebuking him, and warning him, not to incur a storm of public obloquy; but he has left absolutely no room for any entreaties or admonitions of mine; both in his ordinary conversation, and publicly in the Senate he has advocated your cause with as much eloquence, earnestness, enthusiasm, and energy as anybody could possibly have done, while testifying at the same time in the highest terms to your good offices towards him and his own affection for you. Marcellinus,[a] you are aware, is angry with you; in all else, however, if you except this affair of the king, he makes us think that he will support you right gallantly. We accept what he offers; but as to his determination to bring the religious question before the Senate (and indeed he has repeatedly done so), nothing can induce him to give it up.

What has happened up to the 13th of January (I am 3
writing in the early morning of that day) is this: Hortensius, Lucullus, and I are in favour of yielding to the religious objections as regards the army; for in no other way could our object be attained; but according to the decree already passed on your own motion,

ferente factum est, tibi decernit, ut regem reducas, "quod commode facere possis"; ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tres legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium; censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sint; M. Bibulus tres legatos decernit ex iis, qui privati sint. Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares praeter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, et Volcatium, qui, Lupo referente, Pompeio decernit, et Afranium, qui assentitur Volcatio, quae res auget suspicionem Pompei voluntatis; nam advertebatur Pompei familiares assentire Volcatio. Laboratur vehementer; inclinata res est. Libonis et Hypsaei non obscura concursatio et contentio, omniumque Pompei familiarium studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt, ut Pompeius cupere videatur; cui qui nolunt, iidem
4 tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici. Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus, quod tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram exstinguit hominum suspicio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. Ut in rebus multo ante, quam profectus es, ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac domesticis Pompei clam exulceratis, deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam invidiam adductis, ita versamur. Nos-

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[a] Pompey held the *imperium* ("imperial command of naval and military forces") by virtue of his office as *curator annonae*" ("Controller of the Corn Supply") to which he had been appointed on the motion of Lentulus Spinther.

[b] Or "our cause has received a shock" (Manutius).

[c] L. Scribonius Libo, now tribune, whose daughter married Sextus Pompeius. P. Plautius Hypsaeus was Pompey's quaestor in the Mithridatic war.





we are in favour of *your* being authorized to restore the king, "so far as you can do so without detriment to the state"; so that while the religious difficulty eliminates the army, the Senate retains you to manage the whole affair. Crassus votes for three commissioners, not excluding Pompey, for he extends the selection even to those who happen to be in the enjoyment of *imperium*.[a] Bibulus votes for three commissioners, to be chosen definitely from those who have no *imperium*. The other consulars agree with Bibulus, excepting Servilius, who declares that there ought to be no restoration at all; and Volcatius, who, on the motion of Lupus, votes for the appointment of Pompey; and Afranius, who agrees with Volcatius. And this increases the suspicion that Pompey desires the appointment, for it was noticed that his friends agreed with Volcatius. We are grievously embarrassed, and we have lost ground.[b] The hurried meetings and fussy anxiety of Libo and Hypsaeus,[c] about which there is no concealment, and the zeal of all Pompey's intimates, have created the impression that Pompey seems bent on being appointed, and those who would reject him are at the same time no friends of yours, because of the appointment you secured him.

For myself, I carry the less weight in the affair 4
because I am in your debt, and any desire there is to please me is crushed by a notion people have that they are pleasing Pompey.

We stand much as we did long before you left; the king himself and Pompey's friends and associates have secretly inflamed the sore, then the consulars have openly made things worse and aroused strong popular prejudice. My own loyalty will be acknow-

tram fidem omnes, amorem tui absentis praesentes tui cognoscent. Si esset in iis fides, in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus. Vale.

## II

### M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Idibus Ianuariis in senatu nihil est confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione Lentuli consulis et Canini tribuni plebis. Eo die nos quoque multa verba fecimus, maximeque visi sumus senatum commemoratione tuae voluntatis erga illum ordinem commovere. Itaque postridie placuit, ut breviter sententias diceremus; videbatur enim reconciliata nobis voluntas senatus esse; quod tum dicendo, tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perspexeram. Itaque cum sententia prima Bibuli pronuntiata esset, ut tres legati regem reducerent; secunda Hortensi, ut tu sine exercitu reduceres; tertia Volcati, ut Pompeius reduceret; postulatum est, ut Bibuli sententia divideretur. Quatenus de religione dicebat, cui rei iam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo assensum est; de tribus legatis, frequentes

[a] Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, referred to as Marcellinus in the preceding letter. He was consul in 56 with Lucius Marcius Philippus.

[b] Viz. (1) Shall the army be eliminated, in accordance with the oracle? (2) Shall three commissioners be sent?

[c] Lit. "voted for anything else in the world."





ledged by everybody, and my affection for you, far away as you are, by your friends on the spot. Were there any sense of honour in those in whom, above all others, it should be found, there would be no difficulties in our way. Farewell.

## II

### TO THE SAME

Rome, January 15, 56 B.C.

Nothing was settled in the Senate on January 13, 1
because a great part of the day was taken up with a dispute between the consul Lentulus[a] and the tribune Caninius. I, too, spoke a good deal on that day, and appeared to make a great impression on the Senate by insisting on your goodwill towards it. So on the following day we resolved to be brief in expressing our opinions, for it seemed that the Senate had again become favourably inclined to us; of this I had assured myself not only in the course of my speech, but when I appealed to individual members, and asked for their support. And so when Bibulus's motion "that three commissioners should restore the king" was first read out for discussion, and then, Hortensius's, "that *you* should restore him, but without an army," and thirdly Volcatius's, "that Pompey should restore him," a demand was made that Bibulus's motion should be submitted in two parts.[b] As long as he confined himself to the religious argument, which could no longer be opposed, he met with agreement; but on the question of the three commissioners, a large majority voted against him.[c]

2 ierunt in alia omnia. Proxima erat Hortensi
sententia, cum Lupus, tribunus plebis, quod ipse
de Pompeio retulisset, intendere coepit, ante se
oportere discessionem facere, quam consules. Eius
orationi vehementer ab omnibus reclamatum est;
erat enim et iniqua et nova. Consules neque con-
cedebant, neque valde repugnabant; diem consumi
volebant; id quod est factum. Perspiciebant enim,
in Hortensi sententiam multis partibus plures ituros,
quamquam aperte Volcatio assentirentur. Multi
rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus non[1] invitis
3 nam ii Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt. Hac
controversia usque ad noctem ducta, senatus di-
missus; et ego eo die casu apud Pompeium caenavi,
nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum, quam umquam
antea, quod post tuum discessum is dies honestissi-
mus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus,
ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogita-
tione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere. Quem
ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni
suspicione cupiditatis; cum autem eius familiares
omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod iam
omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam iam pridem a
certis hominibus, non invito rege ipso consiliariisque
4 eius, esse corruptam. Haec scripsi a. d. xvi. Kal.
Febr. ante lucem. Eo die senatus erat futurus. Nos
in senatu, quemadmodum spero, dignitatem nostram,

[1] non *is Wesenberg's convincing insertion.*

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[a] *i.e.* that his motion to appoint Pompey should be taken first.





Hortensius's motion came next, when the tribune 2
Lupus, on the ground that it was he who had raised
the question affecting Pompey, began to insist that
he should take precedence of the consuls in dividing
the house.[a] His speech was answered by angry shouts
of dissent on every side, for it was as unfair as it was
unprecedented. The consuls neither yielded to him
nor showed any spirit in opposing him; what they
wanted was, that the day should be wasted, and that
is what happened; for though they openly paraded
their agreement with Volcatius, they saw clearly
enough that a far greater number would vote for
Hortensius's motion. Large numbers were asked their
opinion, and that too with no objection on the part
of the consuls, for they were anxious that Bibulus's
motion should succeed. This dispute dragged on 3
till nightfall, and then the Senate was dismissed.

On that day I happened to dine at Pompey's
house, and availing myself of a more favourable
opportunity than I had ever had before (for since
you left Rome my prestige in the Senate had never
been higher than on that day) I spoke to him in such
a way that I think I drew his mind away from every
other line of thought to a due consideration of your
claims. And when I hear him speak himself, I acquit
him absolutely of any suspicion of selfish greed; but
when I look round at his intimate friends of whatever
rank, I clearly perceive what must now be patent to
all, that your whole case has long since been basely
betrayed by certain people with the connivance of
the king himself and his counsellors.

I write this on the 15th of January, before dawn; 4
to-day there is to be a meeting of the Senate, and
I hope we shall maintain as honourable a position

ut potest in tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate, retinebimus. Quod ad popularem rationem attinet, hoc videmur esse consecuti, ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis, aut salvis legibus, aut denique sine vi possit. De his rebus pridie, quam haec scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit: cui cum Cato et Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta. Eam ad te missam esse arbitror. De ceteris rebus quidquid erit actum, scribam ad te; utque quam rectissime agantur, omni mea cura, opera, diligentia, gratia providebo. Vale.

## III

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Aulo Trebonio, qui in tua provincia magna negotia et ampla et expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. Is cum antea semper et suo splendore, et nostra ceterorumque amicorum commendatione gratiosissimus in provincia fuit, tum hoc tempore propter tuum in me amorem nostramque necessitudinem vehementer confidit, his meis litteris

[a] The question of Ptolemy's restoration.

[b] A *senatus consultum*, even if vetoed by a tribune, might be put on record as a *senatus auctoritas*: the *auctoritas* in this case forbade the restoration of Ptolemy altogether.





in it as is possible amid such general treachery and unfairness. As regards the plan of bringing the question[a] before the people, I think we have secured that no measure can be brought before them without the violation of either the auspices or the laws, or indeed without a breach of the peace. On these points a resolution of the Senate[b] was passed, on the day before this on which I write, of the gravest import; and in spite of its having been vetoed by Cato and Caninius it was regularly drafted; it has, I believe, been sent to you. Whatever is done in any other respect, I shall send you word of it, and I shall spare no vigilance or trouble, and exercise all my discrimination and influence, to ensure that whatever is done, is done as correctly as possible. Farewell.

## III

TO THE SAME

Rome, the middle of January, 56 B.C.

Aulus Trebonius, whose business engagements in your province are of great and far-reaching importance and financially sound, has for many years been a very intimate friend of mine. While on the strength of his own brilliant prestige, and the high credentials given him by myself and his other friends, he has always hitherto been a highly popular personality in the province, just now, on account of your affection for me, and the close ties which bind us, he is full of confidence that this letter of mine will establish him as a *persona grata* with you. 1

2 se apud te gratiosum fore. Quae ne spes eum fallat, vehementer rogo te; commendoque tibi eius omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam, in primisque, ut, quae T. Ampius de eius re decrevit, ea comprobes, omnibusque rebus eum ita tractes, ut intelligat, meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse. Vale.

## IV

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Scriptum Romae eodem anno.

1 A. d. xvi. Kal. Febr. cum in senatu pulcherrime staremus, quod iam illam sententiam Bibuli de tribus legatis pridie eius diei fregeramus, unumque certamen esset relictum sententia Volcati, res ab adversariis nostris extracta est variis calumniis. Causam enim frequenti senatu, in magna varietate magnaque invidia eorum, qui a te causam regiam alio transferebant, obtinebamus. Eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem, Bibulum multo iustiorem, paene etiam amicum. Caninius et Cato negarunt, se legem ullam ante comitia esse laturos. Senatus haberi ante

[a] He was Lentulus's predecessor as proconsul of Cilicia.

[b] Tyrrell reads *non* for *in* before *magna varietate* and translates "there being no great diversity of opinion, but great indignation against those," etc.

[c] The law which forbade the holding of the Senate on *dies comitiales*, *i.e.* days on which any of the *Comitia* were, or might be, held; now all the days in January after the 15th were *dies comitiales*; but according to another law, the Lex Gabinia, the whole time of the Senate during February had to be devoted to receiving and discussing deputations (*legationes*) from the provinces or foreign states. Thus there could be no meeting of the Senate for ordinary purposes either in January (after the 15th) or in February, unless the business of the deputations was either disposed of or deferred to some later date.





I earnestly beg of you not to let him be disappointed in this anticipation, and I commend to your care all his business affairs, his freedmen, his agents, and his slaves; and especially do I ask you to confirm T. Ampius's[a] decrees in connexion with his case, and in all respects so to deal with him that he may realize that my recommendation of him was no conventional formality. Farewell. 2

## IV

TO THE SAME

Rome, January, 56 B.C.

On the fifteenth of January we brilliantly maintained our position in the Senate; we had already on the preceding day given the *coup de grâce* to that motion of Bibulus concerning the three commissioners, and the only subject of controversy left over was Volcatius's motion, though the opposition spun the affair out by various pettifogging objections. We upheld our cause in a full house, in spite of the same endless variety of arguments and the undisguised jealousy of those[b] who were for taking the affair of the king out of your hands and putting it elsewhere. On that day we found Curio disagreeable, Bibulus much more reasonable, in fact almost friendly: Caninius and Cato assured the house that they would pass no law before the elections. As you are aware, the Lex Pupia[c] precludes the holding 1

Kalendas Febr. per legem Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest, neque mense Febr. toto, nisi perfectis
2 aut reiectis legationibus. Haec tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis, non tam ut te impedirent, quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandriam vellet ire. Dignitatis autem tuae, nemo est, quin existimet, habitam esse rationem ab senatu. Nemo est enim, qui nesciat, quo minus discessio fieret, per adversarios tuos esse factum; qui nunc populi nomine, re autem vera sceleratissimo tribunorum latrocinio,[1] si quae conabuntur agere, satis mihi provisum est, ut ne quid salvis auspiciis aut legibus, aut etiam sine vi agere
3 possint. Ego neque de meo studio, neque de nonnullorum iniuria scribendum mihi esse arbitror. Quid enim aut me ostentem, qui, si vitam pro tua dignitate profundam, nullam partem videar tuorum meritorum assecutus; aut de aliorum iniuriis querar, quod sine summo dolore facere non possum? Ego tibi a vi, hac praesertim imbecillitate magistratuum, praestare nihil possum; vi excepta possum confirmare te et senatus et populi Romani summo studio amplitudinem tuam retenturum. Vale.

[1] *Some omit* tribunorum *before* latrocinio, *but I follow Tyrrell in inserting it, in spite of its not being found in M or R. The tribunes referred to are obviously Caninius and C. Cato.*





of a Senate before February 1, and indeed during the whole of February, unless the business of the deputations has been either disposed of or adjourned.

The popular opinion here, however, is this, that the 2
plea of religious scruples, falsely so called, was introduced by your envious calumniators, not so much to hamper you in particular, as to prevent anyone's wishing to go to Alexandria from a selfish desire for military command. But as to your own claims, everyone considers that all proper regard has been paid them by the Senate; for everyone is aware that the fact that no division took place is due to the machinations of your opponents; if, however, they now attempt to carry any measure on the alleged grounds of serving the people, but in reality because of the infamous villainy of the tribunes, I have taken every precaution to prevent their being able to do so without a violation of either the auspices or the law, or indeed without a breach of the peace.

There is no need, I think, for any reference in this 3
letter either to my own devotion to you or to the injurious conduct of certain persons; for why should I vaunt my own services,—I, the shedding of whose life-blood in defence of your claims would not, it seems to me, counterbalance a fraction of your deserts? Or why, on the other hand, deplore the injurious acts of others at the cost of bitter anguish to myself? I can guarantee your cause no protection against violence, especially now that the magistrates are so powerless; but apart from that I can assure you that the enthusiastic support of the Senate and the people of Rome will enable you to maintain your distinguished position unimpaired. Farewell.

## VA

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Romae, Febr. A.U.C. 698.

1 Tametsi mihi nihil fuit optatius, quam ut primum abs te ipso, deinde a ceteris omnibus quam gratissimus erga te esse cognoscerer, tamen afficior summo dolore, eiusmodi tempora post tuam profectionem consecuta esse, ut et meam et ceterorum erga te fidem et benevolentiam absens experirere. Te videre et sentire, eamdem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate, quam ego in mea salute sum ex-
2 pertus, ex tuis litteris intellexi. Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quae nostra studia impediret, et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Sed tamen, in huiusmodi perturbatione rerum quamquam omnia sunt metuenda, nihil magis, quam perfidiam timemus; et Catoni quidem (quoquo modo se res habet)
3 profecto resistemus. De Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri, me tibi absenti tuisque praesentibus cumulate satisfacturum. Sed vereor, ne aut eripiatur nobis, aut deseratur; quorum utrum minus velim, non facile possum existimare. Sed, si

[a] C. Porcius Cato, tribune this year, proposed a bill that Lentulus should be deprived of his proconsulship of Cilicia, which would *ipso facto* cancel Lentulus's claim to restore King Ptolemy.





## VA

TO THE SAME

Rome, February, 56 B.C.

Though I could have wished for nothing better 1
than that my extreme gratitude to you should be recognized first by yourself, and secondly by everyone else, still I am deeply grieved that the political developments which followed upon your departure have been such, that you should have had cause, while away from home, to test the loyalty and goodwill of myself and others; but your letter has made it clear to me that you quite see and feel that there is the same general loyalty in support of your claims as I met with in the matter of my recall.

I was confidently relying upon my strategy, zeal, 2
assiduity, and influence in regard to the king, when suddenly there was sprung upon us Cato's execrable proposal,[a] which was enough to hamper our efforts, and turn our thoughts from a lesser anxiety to an overwhelming dread. Still, though any issue may be apprehended in so chaotic a state of affairs, there is nothing we dread more than treachery; and as for Cato, we shall certainly oppose him, come what will.

As regards the affair of Alexandria and the king's 3
cause I can only promise you this:— that I shall satisfy in full measure the expectations both of yourself who are absent, and of your friends who are on the spot; though I am afraid that the business will be either snatched from our hands, or altogether abandoned, and which alternative I desire less I cannot easily determine But if we are hard

res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod neque Selicio, nec mihi displicebat,—ut neque iacere rem pateremur, nec, nobis repugnantibus, ad eum deferri, ad quem prope iam delata existimatur. A nobis agentur omnia diligenter, ut nec, si quid obtineri poterit, non contendamus, nec, si quid non obtinuerimus,
4 repulsi esse videamur. Tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi est omnem amplitudinem et dignitatem tuam in virtute atque in rebus gestis tuis atque in tua gravitate positam existimare; si quid ex iis rebus, quas tibi fortuna largita est, nonnullorum hominum perfidia detraxerit, id maiori illis fraudi, quam tibi futurum. A me nullum tempus praetermittitur de tuis rebus et agendi et cogitandi, utorque ad omnia Q. Selicio; neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis, neque fide maiore esse iudico, neque amantiorem tui.

## Vb

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Eiusdem anni mense Februario.

1 Hic quae agantur, quaeque acta sint, ea te et litteris multorum et nuntiis cognoscere arbitror;

[a] A banker. [b] Pompey.





pressed, there is a third option, which neither Selicius[a] nor I were disposed to reject, and that is that we should neither permit the cause of the king to languish, nor, in defiance of our resistance, to be put in the hands of one to whom it is thought to have been already practically assigned.[b]

In all I do I shall be very careful to arrange that we shall not fail to make a struggle for whatever position can be held, while if there be any position we have found untenable, we shall avoid the appearance of defeat.

Wise and high-minded as you are, you will not forget that the foundations of all your greatness and distinction are your personal worth, your achievements, and the solidity of your character; and that if the gifts which fortune has bestowed upon you suffer any diminution through the treachery of a few individuals, it will do more harm to them than to you. In thought or deed I miss no opportunity of promoting your interests, and in whatever I do, I avail myself of the services of Q. Selicius, and in my opinion there is no one of your friends who has more common sense, integrity, or affection for yourself. 4

## Vb

TO THE SAME

Rome, February, 56 B.C.

As to what is being done and has been done at Rome, I expect you are being apprised by the letters of your numerous correspondents or by oral messages; 1

quae autem posita sunt in coniectura, quaeque mihi videntur fore, ea puto tibi a me scribi oportere.

Posteaquam Pompeius et apud populum a. d. viii. Idus Febr., cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convicioque iactatus est, in senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe in amicorum[1] magno silentio est accusatus, visus est mihi vehementer esse perturbatus. Itaque Alexandrina causa, quae nobis adhuc integra est (nihil enim tibi detraxit senatus, nisi id, quod per eamdem religionem dari alteri non potest), videtur
2 ab illo plane esse deposita. Nunc id speramus, idque molimur, ut rex, cum intelligat sese id, quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, assequi non posse et, nisi per te sit restitutus, desertum se atque abiectum fore, proficiscatur ad te; quod sine ulla dubitatione, si Pompeius paulum modo ostenderit sibi placere, faciet. Sed nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem. Nos tamen nihil, quod ad eam rem pertineat, praetermittimus. Ceteris iniuriis, quae propositae sunt a Catone, facile, ut spero, resistemus. Amicum ex consularibus neminem tibi esse video, praeter Hortensium et Lucullum; ceteri sunt partim obscurius iniqui, partim non dissimulanter irati. Tu fac animo forti magnoque sis, speresque, fore ut, fracto impetu levissimi

[1] nimium *MSS.*: inimicorum *Tyrrell, following Weinhold. But that would have hardly disconcerted Pompey, whereas his friends' silence would be ominous.*

[a] T. Annius Milo, the fierce opponent of P. Clodius from 57 to the latter's murder in 52. This year he was being defended by Pompey, who, later on, especially after Clodius's murder, directed all his influence against him.





but as to what is still in the region of conjecture and only seems likely to happen, I think I ought to write to you myself. When Pompey spoke in defence of Milo[a] before the people on February the 6th, he was harassed with shouts of abuse, and again harshly and offensively called to account in the Senate by Cato,[b] while his friends uttered no word of protest, and he seemed to me to be profoundly agitated. So it looks as though he has entirely dropped the Alexandrine business, which, so far as we are concerned, is as it was; for the Senate has deducted nothing from your claims except what, for the same religious reasons, can be granted to nobody else.

What I now hope for, what I am striving to bring 2
about, is that the king, when he understands that he cannot manage to be restored, as he had intended, by Pompey, and that, unless he is reinstated through your agency, he will be a pariah and an outcast, should come and visit you; and that is what he unquestionably will do, if Pompey gives the slightest hint that he has no objection: but you know how dilatory and reserved our friend is. Still we are leaving nothing undone which is relevant to the matter. All the other injurious proposals of Cato,[b] we shall, I hope, have no difficulty in resisting. You have not a single friend that I can see among the consulars except Hortensius and Lucullus. The others are either covertly hostile or do not dissemble their resentment.

You must yourself keep a high and heroic heart, and assure yourself that when this paltry fellow's[b] attack has been quelled, you will find the

[b] C. Porcius Cato; see the preceding letter, § 2, note *a*.

hominis, tuam pristinam dignitatem et gloriam consequare.

## VI

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Quae gerantur, accipies ex Pollione, qui omnibus negotiis non interfuit solum, sed praefuit. Me in summo dolore, quem ex tuis rebus capio, maxime scilicet consolatur spes, quod valde suspicor, fore, ut infringatur hominum improbitas et consiliis tuorum amicorum, et ipsa die, quae debilitat cogitationes
2 et inimicorum et proditorum. Facile secundo loco me consolatur recordatio meorum temporum, quorum imaginem video in rebus tuis. Nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas, quam mea afflicta est,[1] tamen est tanta similitudo, ut sperem te mihi ignoscere, si ea non timuerim, quae ne tu quidem umquam timenda duxisti. Sed praesta te eum, qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus. Illustrabit, mihi crede, tuam amplitudinem hominum iniuria. A me omnia summa in te studia officiaque exspecta. Non fallam opinionem tuam. Vale.

[1] quam mea salus afflicta sit *Nobbe*: quam mea afflicta est *Tyrrell*.

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[a] C. Asinius Pollio, the celebrated orator, poet and historian of the Augustan age, born 76 B.C., died A.D. 4. Horace addressed *Od.* ii. 1, and Virgil his fourth eclogue, to him.

[b] *i.e.*, "from your infancy," ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων. Others take it as meaning "intimately," "from the root of the nail." *Cf. medullitus*, and see Orelli on Hor. *Od.* iii. 6, 24.





glory of your former position awaiting you inimpaired.

## VI

TO THE SAME

Rome, middle of February, 56 B.C.

You will be told what is going on here by Pollio,[a] 1
who has not only taken part, but taken a leading part, in every transaction. As for myself, amid the profound sorrow your affairs cause me, what comforts me most, I would have you know, is a hope, nay, a strong presentiment, that the unscrupulous conduct of your foes will be crushingly countered, not only by the shrewd suggestions of your friends, but also by the action of time itself, which weakens the machinations of those who hate, and would betray you.

In the second place, I find it easy to console myself 2
by recalling the dangers in my own life, a reflection of which I recognize in your present circumstances; for though your high position is dishonoured in a less important matter than that in which mine was brought low, still the resemblance is so close, that I trust you are not offended with me if I have shown no fear of what even you yourself have never considered worth fearing. But prove yourself to be the man I have ever known you to be "from the days" as as the Greeks say "when your finger-nails were tender,"[b] and, take my word for it, the injustice of men will but serve as a foil to your greatness. Look to me for every evidence of the highest devotion and dutifulness to yourself, and I shall not disappoint you.

## VII

**M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.**

Eodem, quo sexta, ut videtur, anno scr.

1 Legi tuas litteras, quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse, quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus, et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias; quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse, quem tu me esse voluisti; alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum disiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet, quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae, quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt, ut eas audeam temere committere. Quoties mihi certorum hominum potestas erit, quibus recte dem, non praeter-
2 mittam. Quod scire vis, qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis. Unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque, re perspecta et cognita, scribere,—vehementer quosdam homines, et eos maxime, qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae, simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc et nostri quondam fuisse rationem; ut, quos tu reipublicae causa laeseras, palam te oppugnarent, quorum auctoritatem,





## VII

**TO THE SAME**

Rome, end of August, 56 B.C.

I have read your letter, in which you tell me that 1
you are pleased because I keep you so regularly informed on all matters, and you can easily see my goodwill to you. As to the latter, it is essential that I should prove my sincere affection for you if I would be the man you would have me be; as for the letter-writing it is a pleasure to me, so that widely separated as we now are by time and space, I may converse with you as often as possible by correspondence. And if I do so less frequently than you expect, the reason will be that my letters are not of such a nature that I can entrust them in a casual way to anybody. Whenever I can get hold of trustworthy men in whose hands I can properly put them, I shall not miss the opportunity.

You want to know how each man stands in the 2
matter of loyalty and friendly feeling towards yourself: well, it is hard to speak of particular persons. There is one fact, however—I have often hinted it to you before—which, now that all has been thoroughly sifted and investigated, I venture to set down here too, and that is that certain persons, and those most of all who most of all ought to have supported you, and could have done so to the greatest extent, have conceived an inordinate jealousy of your position, and that, though the cases are different, there has appeared a close analogy between the present crisis in your affairs and the past crisis in mine; for while the men you had fallen foul of in the interests of the state, attacked you openly, those whose ascendancy,

dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae, quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Racilium et fide et animo singulari. Nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae, propter magnitudinem benefici tui, fortasse plerisque offici maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur, quam sententiae.
3 Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studi erga te, aut offici aut amici animi esse testis. Etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime, non solum a me provocatus, sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis, temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse. Cui quidem litterae tuae, quas proxime miseras, quod facile intellexerim, periucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum, sed etiam admirabilis visa est. Virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, nonnihil suspicantem, propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis, te ab se abalienatum, illa epistula retinuisti. Qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano, tum vero, lectis tuis litteris, perspectus est a me, toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et
4 commodis cogitare. Quare ea, quae scribam, sic

[a] Tribune of the plebs in 59 B.C.

[b] L. Caninius Gallus, the tribune of the plebs, mentioned in *Ep.* i. 2. 1, a friend of Varro and supporter of Pompey. Cicero here refers to the time when Caninius brought forward a bill (*rogatio*) that Pompey, with two lictors, should restore Ptolemy, when Lentulus and his friends might well have suspected Pompey of hostile rivalry in that affair.





position, and policy you had defended, were not so mindful of your merits, as resentful of your renown. At that time, as I wrote in detail to you before, I found Hortensius unreservedly your friend, Lucullus devoted to your cause, and L. Racilius,[a] among the magistrates, exceptionally loyal and well-disposed; for my own defence and vindication of your claims might perhaps, in view of your extraordinary generosity to me, appear to most people to be prompted rather by a sense of obligation than an unbiased conviction.

Further than that, I cannot testify as to the zeal or deference or friendliness of any single one of the consulars, for Pompey, who very often talks to me about you, not only when I lead him on to do so, but even of his own accord, did not, as you know, often attend the Senate on those occasions; but your last letter to him, as I could easily understand, gave him very great pleasure. To me your considerate courtesy, or rather your consummate wisdom, seemed as charming as it was wonderful. Here is an excellent man whom you had laid under an obligation to you by an act of remarkable generosity, but who had his suspicions that because of what certain persons thought of his eagerness for office you were estranged from him—this man's friendship, by the writing of that letter, you have retained. He has always, I believe, favoured your high reputation even in those very dubious days of Caninius's[b] activity; but since the perusal of your letter I am absolutely assured that you and your distinctions and your interests occupy his whole mind. So when I write 4
this, you must be so good as to understand that I write

habeto, me, cum illo re saepe communicata, de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere : quoniam senatusconsultum nullum exstat, quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi adempta sit, eaque, quae de ea scripta est, auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet, ut magis iratorum hominum studium, quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur, te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis ; et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae et nostri imperi dignitatis, Ptolemaide aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam, ut, cum eam pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolemaeus redeat in regnum ; ita fore, ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines
5 religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. Sed haec sententia sic et illi et nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimaturos videremus ; si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus, omnes te et sapienter et fortiter, sin aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos. Quare quid assequi possis, non tam facile est nobis, quam tibi, cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est, iudicare. Nos quidem hoc sentimus, si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctan-

[a] Cyprus was annexed to Cilicia in 58 B.C.





to you after frequent conversations with him and with his approval and authority, and what I say is this,—that, since no decree of the Senate exists whereby the restoration of the king of Alexandria is taken out of your hands, and that the resolution which was drafted (and you know it was vetoed) " that nobody at all should restore the king " has so little force that it seems to be the *ex parte* outburst of a few angry men, rather than the deliberate measure of a sober Senate, in that case you, who hold Cilicia and Cyprus,[a] can clearly estimate what you can achieve and attain ; and if circumstances seem likely to give you the opportunity of holding Alexandria and Egypt, it is not inconsistent with your own dignity and that of our Empire that you should put the king in Ptolemais or some neighbouring spot and proceed with fleet and army to Alexandria, so that when you have pacified and garrisoned that town, Ptolemy may return to his kingdom ; and so it will come about that he will be reinstated through your agency, just as the Senate originally decided, and that he will be reinstated " without a host " as was the intention (according to the religious party) of the Sibyl.

But he and I, in approving this decision, did not 5
fail to see that men are likely to judge of your policy according to its issue, that if it should fall out as we hope and pray it will, everybody will say you acted with wisdom and courage ; if there be any hitch, the same people will say you acted with greed and rashness. And so it is not so easy for us to judge how far you may succeed, as it is for you, who have Egypt almost before your eyes. What we feel is this, that if you have quite satisfied yourself that you can take possession of that kingdom, you must not

dum, si dubium sit, non esse tibi conandum. Illud affirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore, ut absens a multis, cum redieris, ab omnibus collaudere. Offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video. Sed ego te, ut ad certam laudem adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo: redeoque ad illud, quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo, quam
6 ex eventu homines esse facturos. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam atque imperi tui provincias ei credidissent, fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuvares; eam esse naturam et regionem provinciae tuae, ut illius reditum vel adiuvando confirmares vel negligendo impedires. In hac ratione quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat, tu facillime optimeque perspicies: quid nobis placuisset, ex me
7 potissimum putavi te scire oportere. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, de levitate et imbecillitate Clodii gratularis, minime miramur, te tuis, ut egregium artificem, praeclaris operibus laetari; quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas (graviori enim verbo uti non libet), qui nos,

[a] Milo had done much for Cicero during his banishment, and Cicero is now doing all he can to requite him. See Chron. Sum. for 56 B.C.

[b] *i.e.*, this happy state of affairs you have brought about by your exertions on my behalf.





hesitate to do so; if there is any doubt about it, you must not make the attempt. Of this I can assure you, that if you carry out your enterprise to your satisfaction, you will be applauded before your return by many, and after your return by all; but I can see that any mishap will be fraught with danger because the resolution and the religious difficulty have been brought in. But for my part, while I press you to undertake what cannot fail to bring you glory, I warn you against incurring any conflict, and I return to what I wrote at the beginning of my letter, that men will base their judgement of your whole enterprise, not so much on your policy as on the result.

But if this plan of procedure in the business seems 6
to you to be dangerous, another course commends itself to us, that if the king has kept faith with those friends of yours who have lent him sums of money throughout your province and the provinces under your command, you should assist him with your troops and supplies, knowing that the nature and geographical position of your province is such, that you would either secure his return by assisting him, or hinder it by ignoring him. How far the circumstances, the cause itself, and the course of events, bear upon this project, nobody will estimate so easily and exactly as yourself; what our opinion was, I thought that I, of all men, was the proper person to tell you.

You congratulate me on my position, on my in- 7
timacy with Milo,[a] and on the unprincipled but impotent attempts of Clodius; well, I am not in the least surprised that, like some distinguished artist, you take a delight in your own brilliant achievements;[b] and yet it is hard to believe the wrong-headedness (I don't like to use a harsher word) of those who,

quos favendo in communi causa retinere potuerunt, invidendo abalienarunt; quorum malevolentissimis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra diuturnaque sententia prope iam esse depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus; sed tanta est in plerisque levitas, ut eos non tam constantia in republica
8 nostra delectet, quam splendor offendat. Quod eo liberius ad te scribo, qui non solum temporibus his, quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatique favisti; simul quod video, non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae; in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi: quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam; multum enim interest, utrum laus imminuatur, an salus deseratur. Me meae tamen ne nimis poeniteret, tua virtute perfectum est. Curasti





while they might have retained my friendship by supporting me in a cause which was as much theirs as mine, have estranged me by their jealousy; and I assure you that I have now been almost forced by the bitter malevolence of their slanders to depart from the old political principles I have so long maintained, not indeed so far as to show forgetfulness of my dignity, but so far as to have some regard (and it is time I should) for my personal safety as well. Both objects might have been excellently secured were there any staunchness or solidity of character to be found in men of consular rank; but in most of them to such a degree is the reverse to be found that they are not so much pleased with the steadfastness of my public conduct as annoyed by its distinction.

I write thus to you all the more frankly, because 8
you have regarded with favour not only my position to-day, which I have only attained through your help, but also what was practically the birth in the old days of my subsequent reputation and ascendancy; and at the same time because I now see that it was not my lack of noble rank, as I have hitherto fancied, that prejudiced men against me; for in your case too (and you are the noblest of the noble) I have noticed similar manifestations of malice on the part of the envious, and while it is true that they had no objection at all to your being one of our leading men, they certainly resented any higher flight. I rejoice that your fortune differed from mine; for it is one thing to have your prestige impaired, quite another thing to have your personal safety left unprotected. That I was not overwhelmed with grief at my change of fortune was entirely due to your

enim, ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri, 9 quam demptum de fortuna videretur. Te vero emoneo,[1] cum beneficiis tuis, tum amore incitatus meo, ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare, magnitudinemque animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. Magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memoria consulatus tui. Haec profecto vides quanto expressiora, quantoque illustriora futura sint, cum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit. Quamquam te ita gerere volo, quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt, ut haec multo ante meditere, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas, sentiasque (id quod, quia semper sperasti, non dubito quin adeptus intelligas), te facillime posse obtinere summum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. Quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit, ut te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem, ut considerares, in omni 10 reliqua vita, quibus crederes, quos caveres. Quod scribis te velle scire, qui sit reipublicae status; summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar. Nam

[1] *MSS.*: ego moneo *Kock.*

[a] *i.e.* as they would affect his own prospects.





gallant efforts; for you saw to it that the memory of my name seemed to gain more than my fortune lost.

I earnestly recommend you, however, prompted as 9 I am both by your kindness to me, and my affection for you, with all care and assiduity to fulfil all the glorious aspirations with which you have been fired from your boyhood, and ever maintain undeflected by any man's wrongdoing that greatness of soul which I have always admired, and always loved. Men think highly of you, highly commend your generosity, and highly appreciate the memory of your consulship. You surely see for yourself how much more clearly marked and vivid these impressions will be, when a large contribution of glory accrues to you from your work in your province and in your *imperium*.

And yet I would not have you perform, what you are bound to perform by means of your army and your *imperium*, without considering long before you take action the position of affairs at home.[a] Remember them in your preparations, ponder them, train yourself to meet them, and be assured—it is something you have always hoped for, and therefore having gained your position must doubtless understand—that you can with the utmost ease maintain the highest and most exalted position in the state. And that you may not regard the exhortation I have ventured to deliver as unprofitable and superfluous, I have been actuated by the consideration that you ought to be warned by our common experiences to consider carefully, for the rest of your days, whom you should trust, and of whom you should beware.

You write that you want to know the political 10 situation; well, the disagreement of the parties is very marked, but they are unequally matched in

qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, profecisse
tantum mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia ad-
versariorum, ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent.
Itaque, perpaucis adversantibus, omnia, quae ne
per populum quidem sine seditione se assequi posse
arbitrabantur, per senatum consecuti sunt; nam
et stipendium Caesari decretum est, et decem legati,
et, ne lege Sempronia succederetur, facile perfectum
est. Quod ego ad te brevius scribo, quia me status
hic reipublicae non delectat; scribo tamen, ut te
admoneam, quod ipse, litteris omnibus a pueritia
deditus, experiendo tamen magis, quam discendo
cognovi, tu, tuis rebus integris, discas, neque salutis
nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate,
11 neque dignitatis sine salute. Quod mihi de filia
et de Crassipede gratularis, agnosco humanitatem
tuam, speroque et opto, nobis hanc coniunctionem
12 voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum eximia spe,
summae virtutis adolescentem, cum ceteris artibus,
quibus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione
tui fac erudias; nulla enim erit hac praestantior
disciplina; quem nos, et quia tuus, et quia te dignus

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[a] The aristocratical party in the Senate.
[b] The law of C. Gracchus, requiring the Senate to specify the provinces to be governed by ex-consuls before they were elected consuls. If, therefore, the Gauls were appropriated





energy; those who have the superiority in resources, arms, and power, seem to me, thanks to the stupidity and inconsistency of their opponents,[a] to have made such progress, as to be now superior in moral influence as well; and so with very few dissentients they have gained through the Senate all they thought they were unlikely to attain, even through the people, without an insurrection; for Caesar has not only been given money for his troops and ten lieutenant commanders by a decree, but they easily managed to prevent his being superseded under the *Lex Sempronia*.[b]

I write somewhat briefly on this point, because this position of affairs gives me no satisfaction; still I do write just to warn you—and this is a lesson that even I, devoted as I have been from a boy to all kinds of literature, have still learnt better from practical experience than from books—to be taught while your prosperity is still intact, that we must neither consider our safety to the detriment of our dignity, nor our dignity to the detriment of our safety.

You congratulate me on the engagement of my 11
daughter to Crassipes; I appreciate your courtesy,
and hope and pray the alliance will be a source of
pleasure to us. Our dear Lentulus, being, as he is, 12
a youth who shows conspicuous promise of the highest
excellence, you must be careful to educate not only in
all the accomplishments to which you have yourself
always been devoted, but especially by making him
follow in your footsteps; you can give him no better
tuition than that. I have a special affection for him

beforehand by the consuls for 55, Caesar would be *ipso facto* superseded in 54.

est filius, et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit, in primis amamus carumque habemus.

## VIII

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 699.

1 De omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertinent, quid actum, quid constitutum sit, quid Pompeius susceperit, optime ex M. Plaetorio cognosces, qui non solum interfuit his rebus, sed etiam praefuit; neque ullum officium erga te hominis amantissimi, prudentissimi, diligentissimi praetermisit. Ex eodem de toto statu rerum communium cognosces, quae quales sint, non facile est scribere. Sunt quidem certe in amicorum nostrorum potestate, atque ita, ut nullam mutationem umquam hac hominum aetate habitura
2 res esse videatur. Ego quidem, ut debeo, et ut tute mihi praecepisti, et ut me pietas[1] utilitasque cogit, me ad eius rationes adiungo, quem tu in meis rationibus tibi esse adiungendum putasti. Sed te non praeterit, quam sit difficile, sensum in republica, praesertim rectum et confirmatum, deponere. Verumtamen ipse me conformo ad eius voluntatem, a quo honeste dissentire non possum; neque id facio, ut forsitan quibusdam videar, simulatione; tantum

[1] *So Tyrrell: some prefer* dignitas.

[a] Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus.





and hold him dear for three reasons,—he is your son, he is worthy of his father, and he is, and always has been, fond of me.

## VIII

TO THE SAME

Rome, January 55 B.C.

On all matters which affect you, what has been done, what has been decided upon, what Pompey has engaged to do, you will be best informed by M. Plaetorius, who has not only taken part, but has also taken a leading part in those affairs, and has omitted no act of duty to you which you might expect of one most devoted to you, and most shrewd and painstaking in business. He will also be your informant as to the general position of public affairs; for it is not easy to describe it in a letter. Those affairs are, it is true, in the hands of our own friends,[a] and so securely that it seems unlikely that there will ever be any change in our generation. 1

For my own part, as I ought to do, and as you yourself instructed me, and as both loyalty and expediency compel me to do, I am attaching myself to the interests of that man whose attachment to yourself you thought necessary in my interests; but you must see how difficult it is to cast off a political creed, especially when it is well and truly based. 2

Anyhow, I adapt myself to his will, for I cannot honourably dissent from him, and in doing so I am no hypocrite as some perhaps think I am; for so

enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quae illi utilia sunt, et quae ille vult, esse mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur. Neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent ne adversarii quidem eius, si, cum pares esse non
3 possent, pugnare desisterent. Me quidem etiam illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quae Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime lubet, ad nostra me studia referam litterarum; quod profecto faciam, si mihi per eiusdem amicitiam licebit. Quae enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum et honoribus amplissimis et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in republica capessenda, ea sublata tota, sed nec mihi magis, quam omnibus. Nam aut assentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut
4 frustra dissentiendum. Haec ego ad te ob eam causam maxime scribo, ut iam de tua quoque ratione meditere. Commutata tota ratio est senatus, iudiciorum, rei totius publicae. Otium nobis exoptandum est; quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, praestaturi videntur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis et constantis senatoris, nihil est quod cogitemus. Amissa culpa est eorum, qui a

[a] The *optimates*, of whom Cato was the most prominent.





much am I influenced by the promptings of my heart, and, I emphatically add, my friendly feeling towards Pompey, that what is expedient to him and what he desires, now appear to me in every case right and proper; and, to my thinking, even his opponents would make no mistake, if, seeing they could be no match for him, they were to call a truce.

I have myself this further consolation, that I am 3
the kind of man whose decision would be accepted by everybody with the warmest approval, whether it were to support what Pompey advocates, or to keep silent, or even (as is my particular inclination) to return to my former literary pursuits, and this last I shall undoubtedly do, if my friendship for Pompey permits me. For what had once been my aim and object after I had discharged the most honourable public offices and completed my very arduous labours—the dignified deliverance of my opinions in the Senate, and an independent position in dealing with public affairs—that I have lost for ever, and I not more than anybody else; for we must either utterly humiliate ourselves by agreeing with a minority, or disagree with them to no purpose.

I write thus to you chiefly for this reason, that it 4
may lead you to reflect at last on your own scheme of life. The senate, the law-courts, and the whole state have undergone a complete change. Tranquillity is what I must pray for, and that those who are at the head of affairs seem likely to guarantee me, if certain persons [a] prove themselves less intolerant of their supremacy; as for that consular dignity of the intrepid and consistent senator, I have no grounds for wasting a thought on it; it has been lost for ever by

senatu et ordinem coniunctissimum et hominem
5 clarissimum abalienarunt. Sed ut ad ea, quae coniunctiora rebus tuis sunt, revertar, Pompeium tibi valde amicum esse cognovi; eo tu consule, quantum ego perspicio, omnia, quae voles, obtinebis; quibus in rebus me sibi ille affixum habebit, neque a me ulla res, quae ad te pertineat, neglegetur. Neque enim verebor, ne sim ei molestus, cui iucundum erit, etiam propter se ipsum, cum[1] me esse gratum
6 videbit. Tu velim tibi ita persuadeas, nullam rem esse minimam, quae ad te pertineat, quae mihi non carior sit, quam meae res omnes. Idque cum sentiam, sedulitate mihimet ipse satisfacere possum, re quidem ipsa ideo mihi non satisfacio, quod nullam partem tuorum meritorum non modo referenda, sed ne cogitanda quidem gratia consequi possum.
7 Rem te valde bene gessisse rumor erat. Exspectabantur litterae tuae, de quibus eramus iam cum Pompeio locuti; quae si erunt allatae, nostrum studium exstabit in conveniendis magistratibus et senatoribus. Cetera, quae ad te pertinebunt, cum etiam plus contenderimus, quam possumus, minus tamen faciemus, quam debemus.

[1] *This is Tyrrell's reading*: *Nobbe has* propter id ipsum, quod.

[a] The equestrian order; the person is Pompey.





the fault of those who have estranged from the senate both an order that was most closely bound to it [a] and a highly distinguished person.

But—to return to what more nearly concerns your 5
affairs—I have ascertained that you have a sincere friend in Pompey, and with him as consul, so far as I can see, you will secure all you want; in all those matters he will find in me a firm adherent, and nothing which affects you will be overlooked; nor shall I be afraid of his thinking me troublesome, for when he sees how grateful I am, he will be pleased on his own account.

I should like you to assure yourself that there is 6
not a single thing which affects you, even the most insignificant, which is not more precious to me than all my interests put together, and feeling so, I can satisfy myself on the score of assiduity, but in practical results I fail to satisfy myself, because, I do not say my repaying, but even imagining myself repaying, any portion of your services is beyond my power.

It is rumoured that you have achieved a great 7
success; [b] your letter, about which I have already had a conversation with Pompey, is eagerly awaited. When it has arrived I shall be conspicuously energetic in interviewing the magistrates and senators; and in all else which affects you, though my efforts may prove beyond my capacity, I shall still be doing less than I ought to do.

[b] Against robber-tribes in his province, for which he won the title of *imperator*.

## IX

M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO IMPERATORI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Periucundae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae; quibus intellexi, te perspicere meam in te pietatem; quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? Quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea, quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt. Tibi autem multo notior atque illustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore omni, quo disiuncti fuimus, et una et Romae fuissemus.

2 Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum, quodque et in primis potes, et ego a te vehementer exspecto, in sententiis senatoriis et in omni actione atque administratione reipublicae floruissemus; (de qua ostendam equidem paulo post, qui sit meus sensus et status, et rescribam tibi ad ea, quae quaeris); sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo, et tu me consiliario fortasse non

[a] This celebrated letter, which teems with interest for the student of Cicero's political life, was written in 54 B.C., when, as Mr. How puts it, "Pompey still ruled Rome as best he could, and Cicero acquiesced in his supremacy, still unconscious that it might be hereafter challenged by Caesar. His complete acceptance of the position is shown by his laboured defence of his conduct" in this letter.

It is an ἀπολογία for his change of political front rather than a παλινῳδία, for that had already appeared either in his speech *De provinciis consularibus*, or else in some more direct communication to Caesar of which we have no record.

As to his personal relations to the Triumvirate, he had





## IX

M. CICERO TO P. LENTULUS, IMPERATOR [a]

Rome, December, 54 B.C.

I was very much pleased with your letter, which 1
made me realize that you fully appreciate my devotion to you; for why should I say "my goodwill" when even that term "devotion" itself, most solemn and sacred as it is, does not seem to me impressive enough to describe my obligation to you? But when you write that you are grateful to me for my exertions on your behalf, by a sort of overflow of affection you represent those acts, which could not be omitted without perpetrating an atrocious crime, as actually deserving of gratitude. My feelings towards you, however, would have been better recognized and more marked, if all this time during which we have been separated we had been together and at Rome.

For in that very line of action you plainly declare 2
that you will adopt—no man is better qualified to do so, and I eagerly look to you to do so—I mean in speaking in the Senate, and in every sphere of public life and political administration, we should have made our mark (what is my own feeling and position in politics I shall explain a little later, and at the same time reply to your questions); at any rate I should have found in you a supporter most kindly and most wise, and you in me a counsellor

always been a friendly admirer of Pompey, he was drawn closer to Caesar by the latter's generosity to himself and intimacy with his brother Quintus, now on Caesar's staff, and he had even become reconciled, superficially at least, with the triumvir he had always hated, M. Crassus.

imperitissimo, fideli quidem et benevolo certe, usus esses: quamquam tua quidem causa, te esse imperatorem provinciamque bene gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut debeo, laetor: sed certe, qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberiores et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. In eis vero ulciscendis, quos tibi partim inimicos esse intellegis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem praebuissem; quamquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui, tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus, in te potissimum fractam illam et debilitatam vim suam contulit, nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese. Ea est enim conatus, quibus patefactis, nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis, sed ne libertatis quidem partem
3 reliquit. Te autem etsi mallem in meis rebus expertum, quam etiam in tuis, tamen in molestia gaudeo, eam fidem cognosse hominum, non ita magna mercede, quam ego maximo dolore cognoram. De qua ratione tota iam videtur mihi exponendi tempus
4 dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea, quae quaeris. Certiorem te per litteras scribis esse factum, me cum Caesare et cum Appio esse in gratia, teque id non

[a] The title had been given him for some success over marauding tribes in his province, as it was afterwards given to Cicero himself, when proconsul of the same province.

[b] The person thus stigmatized is most probably the tribune, C. Cato, who had proposed Lentulus's recall from Cilicia, and otherwise behaved outrageously. It can hardly be Appius Claudius Pulcher, with whom just below (§ 4) Cicero records the renewal of his friendship, still less can it be Pompey, the whole letter being Cicero's defence of his reconciliation with the triumvirs.





not entirely lacking, if I may say so, in knowledge of the world, and certainly loyal and well disposed. And yet on your account I rejoice, as I am bound to do, that you are now *imperator* [a] and with your victorious army are holding your province after your successful operations; but undoubtedly you would have been able to enjoy the fruits of my indebtedness to you in richer abundance and to greater advantage had you been on the spot. Indeed, in the punishment of those whom you find in some cases to be your foes because you so valiantly fought for my recall, in others to be envious of you because you won so much honour and glory by that achievement, I should have proved myself a marvellously efficient coadjutor—though that never-failing foe of his own friends,[b] who, though you honoured him by doing him the greatest kindnesses, concentrated upon you of all people his maimed and emasculated violence, has done our work for us and punished himself; his attempts have been such that their disclosure has left him for the rest of his life without a particle, I will not say of dignity, but even of independence.

Now though I should prefer that you had learned 3
the lesson from my experience alone, and not from your own also, still I am glad that, annoyed as you must be, you have tested at not so very great a cost the worth of men's loyalty, which I had tested at the price of the bitterest anguish. But as to the significance of the whole affair, I think I have now an opportunity of so making my explanation as to reply at the same time to your questions.

You write that you have been informed by letter 4
that I am on good terms with Caesar and with Appius, and add that you raise no objection to that:

reprehendere ascribis. Vatinium autem scire te velle ostendis, quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. Quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paulo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam necesse est.

Ego me, Lentule, initio, beneficio[1] rerum atque actionum tuarum, non solum meis, sed etiam reipublicae restitutum putabam, et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quemdam amorem et omnia in te ipsum summa ac singularia studia deberem, reipublicae, quae te in me restituendo multum adiuvisset, eum certe me animum merito ipsius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantummodo communi officio civium, non aliquo[2] erga me singulari beneficio debitum praestitissem. Hac me mente fuisse, et senatus ex me, te consule, audivit, et tu in nostris sermonibus
5 collocutionibusque ipse vidisti. Etsi iam primis temporibus illis, multis rebus meus offendebatur animus, cum, te agente de reliqua nostra dignitate, aut occulta nonnullorum odia aut obscura in me studia cernebam. Nam neque de monumentis meis

[1] *I adopt Sternkopf's suggested insertion of* beneficio *after* initio. *Tyrrell proposes* evento *after* initio.

[2] aliquo *MSS.*: alicui *Orelli.*

[a] P. Vatinius, a political adventurer, and no less of a scoundrel (as he himself maintained) than P. Clodius, was quaestor in 63 and tribune in 59, when he sold his services to Caesar, then consul with Bibulus, and proposed the Lex Vatinia, giving Caesar Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years. In 56 he witnessed against Cicero's friends, Milo and Sestius, and was vehemently attacked by the orator. In 55 he was praetor, and in 54 was accused of bribery by Licinius Calvus, and defended, as explained here, by Cicero. He was *consul suffectus* for a few days at the end of 47. In 46 he was fairly successful as governor of Illyricum (*cf.* v. 10 a and 10 b). After Caesar's death he was compelled to surrender Dyrrhachium and his army to Brutus.





as regards Vatinius,[a] however, you clearly indicate your desire to know what induced me to defend and eulogize him. To give you a plainer explanation of this it is necessary that I should go a little further back into the reasons of my policy.

At the beginning,[b] thanks to the course of events and to your exertions, my dear Lentulus, I imagined that I had been restored not to my friends alone but to the commonwealth, and that while to *you* I owed an almost incredible affection and every act of extreme and peculiar devotion to yourself, to the Republic, seeing that it had aided you greatly in my restoration, I considered that, by reason of its own deserving, I assuredly owed a regard such as previously I had displayed as owing to it because of the common obligation of all citizens, and not because of any signal service done to myself. That I was of this mind the Senate was told by my own lips in your consulship, and you yourself must have observed it in our conversations and interviews.

And yet even in those early days there were 5
many things that caused me heart-burnings, when, as you were dealing with the general aspects of my position in the state, I detected signs either of the covert hatred of certain persons, or of their doubtful support of my cause. For neither in the matter of my memorial buildings[c] were you helped by those

[b] *i.e.* "of my restoration."

[c] "Cicero may here refer (1) to his own house or a portion of it, (2) to the neighbouring colonnade of Catulus, destroyed by Clodius, but rebuilt by the Senate's order, (3) or perhaps to some building which Cicero as consul was commissioned by the Senate to erect in commemoration of the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy" (Watson).

ab iis adiutus es, a quibus debuisti, neque de vi nefaria, qua cum fratre eram domo expulsus, neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus, quae, quamquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia necessariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur, in meis damnis ex auctoritate senatus sarciendis, eam voluntatem, quam exspectaram, praestiterunt. Quae cum viderem (neque enim erant obscura), non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant, quam erant illa
6 grata, quae fecerant. Itaque quamquam et Pompeio plurimum, te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste, debebam, et eum non solum beneficio, sed amore etiam et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam, tamen non reputans, quid ille vellet, in omnibus meis
7 sententiis de republica pristinis permanebam. Ego sedente Cn. Pompeio, cum, ut laudaret P. Sextium, introisset in Urbem dixissetque testis Vatinius, me, fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum, illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi, me M. Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre; dixique eodem teste, alio loco, eosdem esse, qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent, et qui me coegissent. Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit, nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate ani-

[a] When tribune in 59 B.C. he proposed the bill giving Caesar five years' rule in Gaul—the notorious Lex Vatinia.





by whom you ought to have been helped, nor in that of the outrageous violence by which my brother and I had been ejected from my house; nor, I say it emphatically, in those very transactions which, though forced upon me by the shipwreck of my private property, I regarded as comparatively of little importance—I mean that patching up of my pecuniary losses, under a vote of the Senate—did they evince that sympathy which I had expected. But though I noticed all this (and nobody could help noticing it), still the annoyance I felt at those incidents was outweighed by my gratitude for what they had done in the past.

And so, although I was enormously indebted, as you 6
yourself have asseverated and testified, to Pompey, and was devoted to him not only for his services to me, but also because I love him and cannot change my estimate of him, in spite of that I disregarded his wishes and remained faithful to all my old political tenets.

Yes! with Pompey sitting in court, having entered 7
the city to give evidence in favour of P. Sextius, when Vatinius as witness had asserted that, dazzled by Caesar's luck and prosperity, I had begun to show a friendship for him, I declared that I preferred the luck of Bibulus, which Vatinius regarded as sheer ruin, to the triumphs and victories of them all; and before the same man, in another part of my speech, I declared that those who prevented Bibulus from leaving his house, and those who forced me to leave mine, were the same persons. Indeed the whole of my cross-examination was nothing but a condemnation of Vatinius's tribunate [a]; and in it I spoke with the greatest possible frankness and spirit on

moque maximo, de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione
8 regnorum. Neque vero hac in causa modo, sed constanter ac saepe in senatu. Quin etiam, Marcellino et Philippo consulibus, Nonis Aprilibus, mihi est senatus assensus, ut de agro Campano, frequenti senatu, Idibus Maiis referretur. Num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere, aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? Hac a me sententia dicta, magnus animorum factus est motus, cum eorum, quorum oportuit, tum illorum
9 etiam, quorum numquam putaram. Nam hoc senatusconsulto in meam sententiam facto, Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est, eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset, ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat, quod ego, cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi. Quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus, quam Luca discesserat, convenisset: "Te," inquit, "ipsum cupio; nihil opportunius potuit accidere; nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spopondisti." Quid multa?

[a] In 56 B.C.
[b] Watson suggests that *eorum* refers to Caesar and Crassus, *illorum* to Pompey and his friends.
[c] Quintus had, morally speaking, gone bail for his brother's support of the triumvirate, and must now fulfil that moral obligation. There is no question of a money payment.





rioting, on disregarding the auspices, and on the bestowal of royal titles.

And not in this trial only did I do so, but consistently and frequently in the Senate. Nay, more 8
than that, in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus,[a] on the 5th of April, it was my proposal which the Senate accepted that the question of the Campanian land should be laid before a full Senate on the 15th of May. Could I have more uncompromisingly invaded the very stronghold of the triumvirs' party, or more completely forgotten the days of my trouble and recalled the days of my power? The result of this expression of my opinion was a highly excited state of mind not only among those who naturally ought to feel excited, but also among those whom I had never expected to be so.[b]

For when a decree of the Senate had been passed 9
on the lines of my motion, Pompey, though he had shown me no sign that he was offended, set out for Sardinia and Africa, and on the journey visited Caesar at Luca. There Caesar took exception to my motion in many respects,—since at Ravenna also, before that, he had seen Crassus, who had roused his hot indignation against me. It was common knowledge that Pompey was greatly annoyed at my proposal, as I had been told by others, but most particularly by my brother. When Pompey met him in Sardinia a few days after he had left Luca he said, "You are the very man I want to see! nothing could have happened more opportunely! Unless you remonstrate seriously with your brother, you must pay up what you guaranteed me on his behalf."[c]

To cut the story short, he complained bitterly,

questus est graviter; sua merita commemoravit; quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre, quidque sibi is de me recepisset, in memoriam redegit; seque, quae de mea salute egisset, voluntate Caesaris egisse, ipsum meum fratrem testatus est; cuius causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit, ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem aut non possem tueri. Haec cum ad me frater pertulisset, et cum ante tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis Vibullium misisset, ut integrum mihi de causa Campana ad suum reditum reservarem, collegi ipse me, et cum ipsa quasi republica collocutus sum, ut mihi, tam multa pro se perpesso atque perfuncto, concederet, ut officium meum memoremque in bene meritos animum fidemque fratris mei praestarem, eumque, quem bonum civem semper habuisset, bonum virum esse pateretur. In illis autem meis actionibus sententiisque omnibus, quae Pompeium videbantur offendere, certorum hominum, quos iam debes suspicari, sermones referebantur ad me: qui cum illa sentirent in republica, quae ego agebam, semperque sensissent, me tamen non satisfacere Pompeio Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum, gaudere se aiebant. Erat hoc mihi dolendum: sed multo illud magis, quod inimicum meum (meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum,

[a] L. Vibullius Rufus, who afterwards served as an officer under Pompey against Caesar.

[b] The extreme *optimates*, who were jealous of Cicero.





recounted his own services to me, recalled the repeated discussions he had had with my brother about the acts of Caesar, and what my brother had made himself responsible for in regard to myself, and called my brother himself to witness that whatever he had done in the matter of my restoration he had done with the full consent of Caesar; and by way of urging upon me Caesar's cause and claims, he begged that if I would not or could not support them, I should at least refrain from attacking them.

When my brother had conveyed all this to me, though it did not prevent Pompey from sending Vibullius[a] to me with instructions that I should hold my hand free with regard to the Campanian business till his own return, I pulled myself together, and held as it were a parley with the State herself, asking that in consideration of my having suffered and performed so much on her behalf, she would permit me to do my duty, to show a spirit of gratitude to those who had deserved well of me, and to redeem the pledge given by my brother; and that she would suffer him whom she had always held to be an honest citizen to be an honest man. But in all those measures and motions of mine which seemed to offend Pompey the comments of a certain clique[b] were brought to my ears—you ought to suspect immediately whom I mean—who though they held the same political opinions as those I acted upon, and had always held them, nevertheless declared they were delighted that I failed to satisfy Pompey and that Caesar would be my bitterest enemy. This I could not but deplore, but much more so the fact that they so embraced, so held in their arms, so fondled, so caressed before my very eyes one who

oti, patriae, bonorum omnium) sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur, non illi quidem ut mihi stomachum facerent, quem ego funditus perdidi, sed certe, ut facere se arbitrarentur. Hic ego, quantum humano consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus rationibusque subductis, summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi, si potero, breviter exponam.

11 Ego si ab improbis et perditis civibus rempublicam teneri viderem, sicut et Cinneis[1] temporibus scimus, et nonnullis aliis accidisse accepimus, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem compulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum causam me adiungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in republica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset, vir is, qui hanc potentiam et gloriam maximis in rempublicam meritis praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus, cuiusque ego dignitatis ab adolescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adiutor etiam exstitissem: cumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum me adiuvisset meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum: non

[1] *That* Cinneis, *Cod. Harl., is preferable to* meis, *M, is proved beyond doubt by Tyrrell.*





was my enemy—mine do I say? nay, rather the enemy of the laws, of the law-courts, of tranquillity, of his country, of all loyal citizens—that though they did not, it is true, exasperate me—I have entirely lost all sense of exasperation—they certainly imagined that they did.

At this crisis, so far as my human judgement enabled me to do so, having carefully reviewed my whole position, and cast up the account, I have arrived at the net result of all my deliberations; and to the best of my ability, I shall give you a short exposition of it.

For my part, if I saw that the state was in the 11 hands of unscrupulous and abandoned citizens, as we know occurred in the days of Cinna as well as at other times, not only should I not be tempted by the prospect of material benefits, which have but little weight with me, but neither could I be forced by any considerations of danger—and yet the most intrepid of men are affected thereby—to espouse their cause, no, not though their services to me were proved to be exceptionally great.

When, however, the leading man in the state was Gnaeus Pompey, a man who had gained such power and eminence as he has by the highest public services and the most brilliant military achievements, one whose public claims I had conspicuously supported from my youth upwards, and as conspicuously promoted both in my praetorship and in my consulship: when, moreover, he had himself given me the help of his influence and speeches on his own account, as well as of his advice and exertions in common with yourself; and when he regarded my enemy as his one great enemy in the state, I really did not

putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paulum me immutassem meamque voluntatem ad summi viri de meque
12 optime meriti dignitatem aggregassem. In hac sententia complectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in coniuncta et causa et dignitate. Hic multum valuit cum vetus amicitia, quam tu non ignoras mihi et Q. fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas eius ac liberalitas, brevi tempore et litteris et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita. Vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit, quae mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri et, ne fieret, vehementer recusare. Gravissime autem me in hanc mentem impulit et Pompei fides, quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei, quam Pompeio. Erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate, quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus: "Quales in republica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives." Tenebam memoria, nobis consulibus, ea fundamenta iacta ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret, Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram, nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae

[a] Plato, *Laws*, iv. 711 c.
[b] The day on which the Senate voted for the execution of Catiline's accomplices. [c] In 59 B.C.





think I had any reason to dread very much the imputation of inconsistency if in the expression of some of my opinions I made a slight change in my political attitude, and contributed my moral support to the advancement of a most illustrious man who had laid me under the deepest obligations.

In this determination, I was obliged, as you must 12
see, to include Caesar, the policy and position of the two men being so intimately connected. Here I attached great weight as well to the long-standing friendship, which, as you yourself are aware, my brother Quintus and I had with Caesar, as to Caesar's courtesy and generosity, which even in this short time I have recognized and acknowledged both in his letters and his acts of kindness to me. I was profoundly influenced too by the interests of the state, which seemed to me to demur to any quarrel with those great men, especially after Caesar's extraordinary successes, and indeed emphatically to forbid it.

But what impelled me most strongly to come to this decision was Pompey's having pledged his word for me to Caesar, and my brother's having pledged his to Pompey. Moreover, in a matter affecting the state, I could not but mark the inspired words in the writings of my master Plato "as are the leaders in a commonwealth, so are the other citizens apt to be."[a] I well remembered that in my consulship from the very first day of January such a foundation had been laid for the strengthening of the Senate, that nobody should have been surprised on December 5th[b] to find so much spirit, or shall I say authority in that body. I remembered also that when I had retired from office, up to the consulship[c] of Caesar

nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum
13 fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium. Postea, cum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres, neque respublica consules haberet, sed mercatores provinciarum et seditionum servos ac ministros, iecit quidam casus caput meum, quasi certaminis causa, in mediam contentionem dissensionemque civilem. Quo in discrimine cum mirifica senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensio in me tuendo exstitisset: non dicam, quid acciderit: (multorum est enim et varia culpa): tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum, sed duces defuisse. In quo, ut iam sit in iis culpa, qui me non defenderunt; non minor est in iis, qui reliquerunt: et, si accusandi sunt, si qui pertimuerunt, magis etiam reprehendendi, si qui se timere simularunt. Illud quidem certe nostrum consilium iure laudandum est, qui meos cives, et a me conservatos et me servare cupientes, spoliatos ducibus, servis armatis obici noluerim declararique maluerim, quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset, cum afflictum excitare potuissent. Quorum

[a] Lentulus, praetor in 60, was in 59 appointed governor of Eastern Spain, which province he retained in 58.

[b] This refers to Clodius, by whose machinations Piso and Gabinius, consuls in 58, obtained the provinces of Macedon and Syria respectively.

[c] *Caput* may also mean "the full rights of citizenship." It is used again in this double sense in § 15 of this letter. But here it may simply mean, as Jeans renders it, "my unhappy self."





and Bibulus, when my opinions carried great weight in the Senate, the opinion of all loyal citizens was practically one.

Afterwards, when you were holding Eastern 13
Spain with military command,[a] and the Republic had not consuls, but merely dealers in provinces and the sutlers and paid agents of sedition,[b] my head[c] by some evil chance was tossed like an apple of discord into the welter of contending factions and civil strife.

And then at the critical moment, when there arose a demonstration of unanimity in my defence which was quite marvellous in the Senate, incredibly strong throughout Italy, unparalleled among all honest citizens, well, if you ask me what happened, I shall make no answer—so many are to blame and in such varying degrees—but only briefly remark that it was not the rank and file who failed me but the commanders. And in all this supposing for the moment that blame attaches to those who failed to defend me, no less attaches to those who left me in the lurch; and if any who may have been frightened are to be censured, much more do any who pretended to be frightened deserve reproach.

At any rate that well-known decision of mine may justly claim commendation in so far as I was unwilling to leave my fellow-citizens, whom I had once saved and who now were eager to save me, bereft of leaders as they were, to the mercy of an armed rabble of slaves, but chose rather that it should be made manifest to all the world, how powerful the unanimity of loyal citizens might have proved had they been allowed to fight for me in the days when I stood upright, seeing that they had been able to set me on my feet again when I lay prostrate;

quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, cum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti.
14 Qua in causa (non modo non negabo, sed etiam semper et meminero et praedicabo libenter) usus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus, fortioribus in me restituendo, quam fuerant iidem in tenendo ; qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. Recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo, et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar, rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis senatus, ad auctoritatem eius ordinis adiungeretur, nulli improbo civi locus ad
15 rempublicam violandam esse potuisset. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta. Primum illa furia[1] muliebrium religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam Deam, quam tres sorores, impunitatem est illorum sententiis assecutus, qui (cum tribunus plebis poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet) exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de republica sustulerunt ; iidemque postea,

[1] *Bandinelli's ingenious conjecture, Clodius being often so called by Cicero*: illa furta *MSS., leaving an anacoluthon*: ille fur *Lambinus*.

[a] *Bona Dea*, the goddess of chastity, worshipped exclusively by women. Her mysteries had been profaned by Clodius in 62 B.C.





and that temper of theirs you not only correctly estimated when you pleaded my cause, but you also encouraged it and kept it up to the mark.

And in that same cause—so far from denying it, 14
I shall ever remember and take pleasure in proclaiming it—you found certain of our noblest citizens more courageous in promoting my recall than they had been in keeping me at Rome ; and had they elected to persevere in that policy all along, the recovery of their own ascendancy would have coincided with my restoration.

For when the loyalists had been encouraged by your consulship and set upon their feet again by your admirable and consistent official action, especially when Pompey had taken up the cause, and when Caesar too, who after his brilliant achievements had been honoured by extraordinary and even unprecedented marks of distinction and complimentary resolutions of the Senate, was now inclined to associate himself with the authority of that order, no unprincipled citizen could have had any opportunity for doing violence to the constitution.
But mark, I beg of you, what followed. 15

First of all that fiendish violator of women's religious observances, who had shown as little respect for the " good goddess "[a] as he had for his three sisters, left the court " without a stain on his character," thanks to the votes of those who, when the tribune of the plebs desired by the verdict of honourable men in the court to inflict condign chastisement upon a turbulent fellow-citizen, deprived the Republic of such a precedent for the punishment of sedition as would have been famous for all time ; and those same persons later on per-

non meum monumentum (non enim illae manubiae meae, sed operis locatio mea fuerat), monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt. Qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum; sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quemadmodum medici, sed, ut aliptae, etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent: nunc, ut Apelles Veneris caput et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit, sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt, reliquum corpus im-
16 perfectum ac rude reliquerunt. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum, sed etiam inimicorum meorum, qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro meoque iudicio omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo, Q. Metello, Luci filio, quondam falsam opinionem acceperant; quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse—est vero probandum, qui et summa voluntate cesserit, et egregia animi alacritate abfuerit, neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum fractum fuisse, in quo cum omnes homines, tum M. illum Scaurum, singularem virum, constantia et gravitate superasset—sed, quod de illo acceperant aut etiam suspicabantur, de

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[a] Probably (3) in the note on § 5 above. Clodius appears to have effaced the original inscription, and substituted another bearing his own name for Cicero's.

[b] See note *c* on § 13 above.

[c] Q. Metellus Numidicus refused to take the oath of obedience to the agrarian law of Saturninus in 100 B.C., and went into voluntary exile. On the death of Saturninus he was restored by a tribunician law, in 99 B.C.

[d] M. Scaurus did not refuse to take the above-mentioned oath, and so proved himself a weaker man than Metellus.





mitted a monument[a]—it was not mine, for it was not built out of any spoils of mine, I only gave out the contract for its erection, but a monument belonging to the Senate—to be branded, and that, too, in letters of blood, with the name of a public enemy. Now in so far as these gentlemen promoted my recall, I am deeply grateful to them; but I could wish that they had chosen to have some regard not merely, like doctors, for my recovery, but also, like trainers, for my vigour and healthy appearance. As it is, just as Apelles completed with the most refined art the head and shoulders of his Venus, while he left the rest of her body begun but not finished, so certain people have confined their good offices to my head[b] alone, and have left the rest of me incomplete and only rough-hewn.

But in all this I belied the expectations not only 16
of those who envied, but also of those who hated me; for they had heard some time or other an untrue account of that most high-spirited and courageous of men, who, in my opinion, stood out above all others in gallantry and firmness of character, Quintus Metellus,[c] the son of Lucius Metellus, and constantly allege that on his return from exile he was a broken-hearted and dispirited man—it has to be proved however that one who left his country with the utmost readiness, and bore his exile with remarkable cheerfulness, and was not particularly anxious to return, was crushed by just that very episode in which he had proved his superiority in determination and dignity to everybody else in the world, not excepting that extraordinary man, the celebrated M. Scaurus[d]—anyhow what they had heard, or perhaps only imagined, about Metellus,

me idem cogitabant, abiectiore animo me futurum, cum respublica maiorem etiam mihi animum, quam umquam habuissem, daret, quae declarasset, se non potuisse me uno civi carere; cumque Metellum unius tribuni plebis rogatio, me universa respublica, duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus octo tribunis, te ferente consule[1] comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus
17 denique suis viribus reciperavisset. Neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam assumpsi, neque hodie assumo, quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere; tantum enitor, ut neque amicis neque etiam alienioribus opera, consilio, labore desim. Hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse, qui splendorem et speciem huius vitae intuentur, sollicitudinem autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. Illud vero non obscure queruntur, in meis sententiis, quibus ornem Caesarem, quasi desciscere me a pristina causa. Ego autem cum illa sequor, quae paulo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis, de quo coeperam exponere. Non offendes eumdem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti: qui

[1] promulgantibus omnibus, referente consule *Nobbe*; *but I have adopted Schütz's* octo tribunis *for* omnibus, *and Lehmann's* te ferente consule, *omitting the comma after* consule.

[a] Q. Calidius (*Pro Plancio*, 28. 69).





they thought exactly applicable to myself—that I was likely to be dejected! And that, too, when the Republic was inspiring me with a greater courage than I had ever possessed, by having made it clearly evident that the one citizen she could not do without was myself, and when, while Metellus's recall hung on the motion of a single tribune,[a] my own recall was acclaimed with one voice by the whole Republic, with the Senate giving the lead, and all Italy following suit, with eight tribunes proposing the motion, with you as consul putting it to the vote at a meeting of the Centuries, with every class and every member of it energetically promoting the measure—using, in a word, all the forces at her disposal.

And yet from that day to this I have made no particular claim of any kind which could reasonably offend any man be he ever so maliciously disposed. My one earnest endeavour is not to be found wanting in service, advice, or practical assistance, either to my friends, or even to those who have a less immediate claim upon me. 17

That such is the tenour of my public life is perhaps a cause of offence to those who, dazzled by its glitter and display, fail to discern its anxieties and troubles; but in one thing they make no secret of their complaints—that in any opinions I express which do honour to Caesar, I am, as it were, guilty of defection from my old party. Now I am influenced not only by what I put before you a little while ago, but also, and by no means least, by what I had begun to explain to you; and that is, my dear Lentulus, that you will not find the political sentiments of loyal citizens the same as you left behind you. Those

confirmatus consulatu nostro, nonnumquam postea interruptus, afflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te totus est, nunc ab iis, a quibus tuendus fuerat, derelictus; idque non solum fronte atque vultu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ii, qui tum nostro illo statu optimates nominabantur, sed etiam sententia[1] saepe iam tabellaque docuerunt.

18 Itaque tota iam sapientium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet. Id enim iubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor: "tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare tuis civibus possis, vim neque parenti neque patriae afferri oportere." Atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi ait non attingendae reipublicae fuisse, quod, cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope iam desipientem senectute, cumque eum nec persuadendo, nec nisi[2] cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur. Mea ratio fuit alia, quod, neque desipiente populo, neque integra re mihi ad consulendum, capesseremne rempublicam, implicatus tenebar. Sed laetatus tamen sum, quod mihi liceret in eadem causa et mihi utilia et cuivis bono recta defendere. Huc accessit com-

[1] *Tyrrell retains* sensu, *and translates "the feelings they really entertained and expressed in their votes."*

[2] nisi *is Tyrrell's ingenious insertion, which I have adopted.*

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[a] *Crito* 51 C *βιάζεσθαι δ' οὐχ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἧττον τὴν πατρίδα.*

[b] Plat. *Ep.* 5, 322 A, B Πλάτων *ὀψὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γέγονεν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέλαβεν ἤδη πρεσβύτερον.*

[c] In his speech *On the Consular Provinces* in which he advocated the continuance of Caesar's command.





sentiments, confirmed by my consulship, afterwards occasionally obscured, utterly suppressed before your consulship, but revived by you, have now been entirely renounced by those who should have fostered them; and that it is so, those who in the old days of our power were entitled *optimates* not only clearly show by their bearing and looks, whereby it is very easy to keep up a pretence, but have furthermore often impressed it upon us by their actual votes both in the Senate and on the bench.

And so it follows that among wise citizens— 18
and a wise citizen is what I wish both to be and to have the credit of being—there ought to be a complete change both of opinion and purpose. For that same Plato, whose teaching I earnestly endeavour to follow, gives us this injunction—"to assert yourself in politics only so far as you can justify your measures to your fellow-citizens; for it is as wrong to use violence to your country as to one of your parents."[a] And indeed he declares that the reason why he did not take part in public affairs was that, finding the people of Athens now almost in a state of dotage,[b] and seeing that they could be ruled neither by argument nor by anything but force, while he despaired of their being persuaded, he did not deem it lawful that they should be forced.

My own position was different, inasmuch as my people were not in their dotage, and not being free to choose whether I should engage in politics or not, my hands were tied; but I rejoiced none the less that in one and the same cause[c] it was allowed me to defend a policy at once advantageous to myself and right in the judgement of any honest man.

memoranda quaedam et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas; qui mihi, quascumque res gereret,[1] tuendus esset, nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis, etiamsi in nos non is esset, qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. Sic enim te existimare velim; cum a vobis, meae salutis auctoribus, discesserim, neminem esse, cuius officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear, sed etiam gaudeam.

19 Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea, quae a me de Vatinio et de Crasso requiris. Nam de Appio quod scribis, sicuti de Caesare, te non reprehendere, gaudeo consilium tibi probari meum. De Vatinio autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium, statim ut ille praetor est factus, cum quidem ego eius petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi causa, quam defendendi atque ornandi Catonis; post autem Caesaris, ut illum defenderem, mira contentio est consecuta. Cur autem laudarim, peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo, neve in aliis requiras, ne tibi ego idem reponam, cum veneris; tametsi possum vel absenti. Recordare enim, quibus lau-

[1] iniret *G*.

[a] When in 54 he was accused by C. Licinius Calvus of having obtained his praetorship by bribery.





Added to these inducements was the notable and even greater than human generosity shown to my brother and myself by Caesar—Caesar, who might have claimed my support whatever he might undertake to do; as it is, so extraordinary is his success and so brilliant are his victories, that even were he not what he is to me, I should deem him worthy of all honour. For what I would have you believe is this, that apart from yourself and others to whom I owe my restoration, there is nobody in the world to whose kind offices I am so deeply indebted, and I not only confess it, but I am actually glad of it.

And now that I have explained this to you, what you ask me about Vatinius and Crassus is easily answered. In Appius's case you write that, just as in the case of Caesar, you have no fault to find, and I am glad that the line I took meets with your approval. Now as to Vatinius. Immediately on his election as praetor, a reconciliation had been brought about between us, in the first instance by the intervention of Pompey, though it is true that I had opposed Vatinius's candidature in the most scathing terms in the Senate, but not so much with the object of injuring him, as of defending and doing honour to Cato. Upon this there followed a surprisingly urgent request on the part of Caesar that I should undertake Vatinius's defence.[a] 19

But why did I eulogize him? Well, I beg of you not to ask me that question, either in the case of this client or of any other, lest I retaliate by putting the same question to you on your return; though I don't see why I should not do so even before your return. For just call to mind the persons in whose

dationem ex ultimis terris miseris. Nec hoc pertimueris; nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur iidem. Sed tamen defendendi Vatini fuit etiam ille stimulus, de quo in iudicio, cum illum defenderem, dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi :

> ubi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam
> continuo. si quando illa dicet "Phaedriam
> intromittamus comissatum," "Pamphilam
> cantatum provocemus"; si laudabit haec
> illius formam, tu huius contra. denique
> tu par pari referto, quod eam mordeat.

Sic petivi a iudicibus, ut, quoniam quidam nobiles homines et de me optime meriti nimis amarent inimicum meum, meque inspectante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seducerent, modo familiariter atque hilare amplexarentur; quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium, darent mihi ipsi alium Publium, in quo possem illorum animos mediocriter lacessitus leviter repungere. Neque solum dixi, sed etiam
20 saepe facio, diis hominibusque approbantibus. Habes de Vatinio, cognosce de Crasso. Ego, cum mihi cum illo magna iam gratia esset, quod eius omnes gravissimas iniurias communis concordiae causa voluntaria quadam oblivione contriveram, repentinam eius defensionem Gabini, quem proximis superioribus

[a] Ter. *Eun.* iii. 1. 50. Cicero means that he is playing off his Publius (Vatinius) against the *optimates*' Publius (Clodius), exactly as the parasite, Gnatho, advises the captain, Thraso, to play off Pamphila against his mistress's lover, Phaedria (see Introd. 54 B.C. § 7).

[b] For Crassus's quarrels and reconciliations with Cicero see note to v. 8. 1.

[c] Crassus seems to have defended Gabinius's government of Syria, which had been impugned by the *publicani*, and by Cicero in his speech *On the Consular Provinces*.





favour you have sent recommendations from the ends of the earth. But don't alarm yourself; for those same persons are, and always will be, praised by me also. However, in the matter of Vatinius's defence, I had another motive to spur me on; as I remarked at the trial when I was pleading for him, I was doing just what the Parasite urged the Captain to do in the *Eunuchus*[a]:

> When Phaedria's name she utters, you'll reply
> Promptly with Pamphila's; and should she cry
> "Let us bid Phaedria to our revelling!"
> "Let's challenge Pamphila," you'll retort, "to sing."
> His looks if she praise, praise you hers no less;
> Such tit-for-tat will cause her deep distress.

So I begged the gentlemen of the jury, since certain noble friends of mine, who had shown me the greatest kindness in the past, were now evincing an undue affection for my special enemy, and before my very eyes were constantly either drawing him aside, as if for solemn consultation, or else playing "hail fellow well met" with him, since *they* had *their* Publius, I begged the jury, I say, to allow me, too, another Publius of my own, in dealing with whom I might give my friends' conscience a sly dig or two just to show that I was a little annoyed with them; and I not only said so, but I do so again and again, to the delight of gods and men.

So much for Vatinius; now let me tell you about 20
Crassus.[b] Since he and I were by this time on quite good terms (for in the interests of public harmony I had, as it were, expunged by a voluntary amnesty the whole list of his grossly injurious acts), I should have put up with his sudden defence of Gabinius[c]—

diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen, si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem; sed, cum me disputantem, non lacessentem laesisset, exarsi, non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia (nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset), sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum eius in me iniuriarum, quod ego me effudisse omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit. Quo quidem tempore ipso quidam homines, et iidem illi, quos saepe nutu significo neque appello,[1] cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea, meque tum denique sibi esse visum reipublicae, qualis fuissem, restitutum, cumque ea contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset, gaudere se dicebant, mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadem causa essent, numquam amicos futuros. Quorum iniqui sermones cum ad me per homines honestissimos perferrentur, cumque Pompeius ita contendisset, ut nihil umquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam, Caesarque per litteras maxima se molestia ex illa contentione affectum ostenderet, habui non temporum solum rationem meorum, sed etiam naturae, Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in

[1] significo neque appello *Madvig*: *M has* significationeque appello.

[a] Caesar and Pompey.





the very man he had fiercely assailed a few days earlier—still I should have put up with it, had he undertaken that defence without any abuse of myself. But when on my arguing the case he attacked me without provocation, well, then I flashed out; it was not, I think, the irritation of the moment only (for that would probably have been less violent), no, but that pent-up rancour due to the many wrongs he had done me, a rancour of which I imagined I had completely purged my soul, had yet settled there without my knowing it, and suddenly revealed itself in all its bitterness.

And at this very time certain persons, indeed those very men whom I often hint at but do not name, though they declared that they had benefited very greatly by my outspoken manner, and that they considered that episode to be my first real restoration to the Republic as my old self again, and though my quarrel with Crassus had proved of great benefit to me even among the outside public, those same people now declared that they were delighted that he was at enmity with me, and that those [a] who were in the same boat with him would never be friends with me. And when their malicious remarks were brought to my ears through the kindness of men of unimpeachable honour, when Pompey had striven as he never strove before to bring about my reconciliation with Crassus, and when Caesar plainly showed by his letter that that passage-at-arms had caused him intense annoyance—why, then I took into account not only my circumstances, but also the promptings of nature; and Crassus, so that our reconciliation might be, as it were, formally announced to the people of Rome, set out for his province, I

provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cenavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis. Quamobrem eius causam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam defendi in
21 senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat. Accepisti, quibus rebus adductus quamque rem causamque defenderim, quique meus in republica sit pro mea parte capessenda status. De quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent. Nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes, neque delendum, etiamsi id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum, neque permanendum in una sententia, conversis rebus ac bonorum voluntatibus immutatis, sed temporibus assentiendum. Numquam enim in[1] praestantibus in republica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio ; sed, ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi portum tenere non queas, cum vero id possis mutata velificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum, quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato,

[1] in *as inserted (in italics) by both Watson and Tyrrell seems necessary.*

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[a] Or, " asked me to name a day," *i.e.* invited himself.
[b] " Caesar's," Watson ; " Pompey's," Tyrrell.
[c] Or " tacking."





might almost say, from under my very roof ; for having previously arranged a day with me[a] he was my guest at a dinner I gave at the country seat of my son-in-law Crassipes.

And that is the reason (as indeed you write that you have been told) why on his[b] earnest recommendation I undertook to support Crassus's cause, and did so support it in the Senate, as I was in honour bound to do.

You have now heard by what considerations I have 21
been led, in supporting each measure and each case, and also what my exact position is in politics so far as I have any part in them. And on that point I should like you to be firmly convinced of this—that those are precisely the sentiments I should have entertained had I been entirely uncommitted and had a free hand; for I should still have been of opinion that no resistance should be offered to powers so invincible, that the established pre-eminence of our highest citizens should not, even if that were possible, be abolished, and that we should not persist in holding to an unvarying opinion when the circumstances have entirely altered and the political inclinations of honest men have undergone a corresponding change, but that we should move with the times. For never has an undeviating persistence in one opinion been reckoned as a merit in those distinguished men who have steered the ship of state. But just as in sailing it shows nautical skill to run before the wind in a gale, even if you fail thereby to make your port ; whereas when you can get there just as well by slanting your yards,[c] it is sheer folly to court disaster by keeping your original course, rather than change it and still

quo velis, tandem pervenire, sic, cum omnibus nobis in administranda republica propositum esse debeat id, quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus. Quamobrem, ut paullo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in republica non alius essem, atque nunc sum. Cum vero in hunc sensum et alliciar beneficiis hominum, et compellar iniuriis, facile patior, ea me de republica sentire ac dicere, quae maxime cum mihi, tum etiam reipublicae rationibus putem conducere. Apertius autem haec ago ac saepius, quod et Quintus, frater meus, legatus est Caesaris, et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit, quod ille non ita illustri gratia exceperit, ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. Itaque eius omni et gratia, quae summa est, et opibus, quas intelligis esse maximas, sic fruor, ut meis. Nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere, nisi cum praesidiis iis, quae semper habui, nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam con-
22 iunxissem. His ego consiliis, si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem. Novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturae tuae, novi animum, cum mihi amicissimum, tum

[a] Caesar, not Quintus.





reach your desired destination; on the same principle in the conduct of state affairs, while we should all have as our one aim and object what I have so repeatedly preached—the maintenance of peace with honour—it does not follow that we ought always to express ourselves in the same way, though we ought always to have in view the same goal.

And therefore, as I stated a little while ago, even were I absolutely untrammelled in my choice, I should be in politics no other than I now am. But attracted as I am by the kindnesses of some and impelled by the malicious conduct of others into this way of thinking, I see no objection to my feeling and saying on political questions whatever I consider most conducive both to my own interests and those of the state; and I do so all the more openly and frequently because my brother Quintus is on Caesar's staff, and because no single word of mine, however trivial, much less any action has passed in Caesar's favour, which he[a] has not welcomed with a gratitude so clearly expressed as to make me feel that he is sincerely obliged to me. This enables me to enjoy as though they were my own the advantages both of his influence, which is very powerful, and of his pecuniary resources which, as you know, are very great; indeed I fail to see how otherwise I could have wrecked the intrigues against me of unprincipled scoundrels, than by combining with the safeguards I always possessed the friendliness of men in power.

This is precisely the course of action I should 22
have adopted, I am inclined to think, had you been here at my elbow; for I know the sobriety and restraint of your nature; I know your mind, which, while full of friendship for me, has yet no tinge of

nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum, contraque cum magnum et excelsum, tum etiam apertum et simplicem. Vidi ego quosdam in te tales, quales tu eosdem in me videre potuisti. Quae me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. Sed, quocumque tempore mihi potestas praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum, tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curae. Me quidem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis; neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita, quam ut quotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere.

23 Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quae post discessum tuum scripserim, sunt orationes quaedam, quas Menocrito dabo, neque ita multae; ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam (nam ab orationibus diiungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores Musas, quae me maxime, sicut iam a prima adolescentia, delectant); scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione ac dialogo *De Oratore*, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis, atque omnem antiquorum et Aristoteleam et Isocrateam rationem oratoriam complectuntur. Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros *De Temporibus Meis*, quos iam

[a] "About my exile and restoration" (Watson).





ill-feeling towards others; on the contrary, it is as great and exalted as it is ingenuous and artless. I have myself noticed that certain folk have behaved towards you as you might have noticed they also behaved towards me; what has affected me, would surely also, I am sure, have affected you.

But whensoever it may be that I have the benefit of your presence here, you will be the guiding spirit in all my undertakings, and you will be as solicitous for my position, as you were for my restoration. In any event you will have in me a partner and a comrade in all your proceedings, expressions of opinion, and desires, in a word, in everything, and I shall have no purpose so constantly before my eyes as long as I live, as that of making you daily and increasingly rejoice that you have been to me the best of friends.

You ask me to send you whatever I have written 23
since your departure; well, I have certain speeches which I shall give Menocritus to bring you, but there are not so very many of them, so don't be alarmed. I have also written (you see I am more or less disengaging myself from the lure of oratory and returning to the gentler Muses, who are now, as they ever have been from my earliest youth, my chief delight), I have written, I say, on the model of Aristotle—at least that is how I wanted to do it—three books in the form of a discussion and dialogue, entitled *The Orator*, which I think will be of some use to your son Lentulus; for they disagree entirely with the commonly accepted rules, and embrace all the theories of rhetoric held by the ancients, including those of Aristotle and Isocrates. Furthermore, I have written three books in verse on *My Own Times*,[a]

pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem; sunt enim testes, et erunt, sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque pietatis; sed verebar, non eos, qui se laesos arbitrarentur (etenim id feci parce et molliter), sed eos, quos erat infinitum bene de me meritos omnes nominare. Quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem, cui recte committam, invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. Atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero. Quantum litteris, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum, qui haec semper amasti,
24 libentissime conferemus. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis, quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt, ut me nolim admoneri, rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possum. Quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis, te priore aestate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse, nunc autem omnia facturum, ut conficias, id scito esse eiusmodi, ut frater meus vere existimet, adiuncto isto fundo, patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. Tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim quam familiarissime certiorem et quam saepissime facias, existimesque neminem cuiquam neque cariorem neque iucundiorem umquam

[a] Quintus wished to buy some land adjoining his own estate near Arpinum from a man in Cilicia, with whom Lentulus could negotiate.





and these I should have sent you long ago, had I deemed it desirable to publish them; they are, and will be for all time, witnesses of your services to me and my devotion to you; but I was afraid, not of those who might imagine themselves calumniated (for indeed my criticisms were neither lavish nor severe), but of those who had deserved well of me, to name all of whom would have been an endless business.

Still if I find anybody to whom I can safely entrust them, I shall take care that even the last-named books are sent to you. Indeed all this side of my life and daily activities I lay before you without reserve; whatever I can achieve in literature or research, my old amusements, that I shall be delighted to submit entirely to your critical judgement; for you have always had a liking for such pursuits.

As to what you tell me in your letter about your 24
domestic affairs and commission me to do in the matter, I have it so much at heart, that I rather resent being reminded of it, and as to being *requested*—well, I can hardly help feeling really hurt. Of my brother Quintus's business[a] you write that last summer being prevented by illness from crossing over into Cilicia you had not been able to effect a settlement, but that you would now spare no pains to do so; that business, I assure you, is of such a nature that my brother verily believes that if he adds the land in question to his own, it is you he will have to thank for the consolidation of his estate.

I would have you inform me as intimately and as frequently as may be about all that concerns yourself, and about your son's studies and exercises,—mine indeed as much—and believe that never was a man dearer or more charming to another than

fuisse, quam te mihi; idque me, non modo ut tu sentias, sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intelligat, esse facturum. Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat, postea dixit etiam in senatu palam: "sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortiturum esse cum collega provincias: si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibique successurum; legem curiatam consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse; se, quoniam ex senatusconsulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in Urbem introisset." Ego, quid ad te tuorum quisque necessariorum scribat, nescio: varias esse opiniones intellego. Sunt, qui putant,[1] posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur; sunt etiam, qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse, qui provinciae praesit. Mihi non tam de iure certum est (quamquam ne id quidem valde dubium est) quam illud ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, liberalitatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere, te sine ulla mora provinciam

[1] *MSS.*: *Wesenberg reads* putent.

[a] What Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul this year (54) with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, seems to mean is this: "If before my year is out I can get a Lex Curiata (*i.e.* a formal ratification of my proconsular *imperium* by the people), well and good; I shall follow the ordinary procedure and draw lots with my colleague for our provinces next year. If, however, such a Lex Curiata is (as so often happens) vetoed by a tribune, I shall make shift to do without it, and arrange with my colleague to take the province which suits me best, *i.e.* Cilicia. A consul may very well dispense with a Lex Curiata, which is practically superseded by the Lex Cornelia (Sulla's law *de provinciis ordinandis*), a law which makes no reference to a Lex Curiata, and provides, among other things, for the retention by a provincial governor of his proconsular *imperium* up to the day he re-enters Rome—a





you are to me, and that I mean not only to impress that fact upon yourself, but also to ensure its recognition by everybody in the world, yes, and by all generations to come.

Appius has now made a public declaration in the Senate of what he used often to assert before in private conversation, "that if he were allowed to get a law through the *comitia curiata* he would cast lots with his colleague for their respective provinces, but that if no such law were passed, he would come to an arrangement with his colleague and become your successor in Cilicia; that the passing of such a law in the *comitia curiata*, while formally important for a consul, is not indispensable; and that holding the province as he did by a decree of the Senate, he would hold *imperium* also under the law of Sulla, until such time as he entered the city."[a] What your several friends and relations write to you about it respectively I cannot tell; I only know that opinions differ. There is a certain section who think you would be within your rights in not resigning your province, because, as they say, your successor's appointment lacks the sanction of a law passed in the *comitia curiata*. There are others, too, who think that, if you do retire, you can leave behind you a representative in charge of the province.

I am myself not so sure of the legal point (though that is not so very doubtful either), as I am of this, that it is due to your exalted position, your dignity, and your kindness (the exercise of which I know is a great and constant satisfaction to you), to

provision which has its potentialities." And Cicero evidently thinks that Appius would be legally justified.

successori concedere, praesertim cum sine suspicione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupiditatem refutare. Ego utrumque meum puto esse, et, quid sentiam, ostendere, et, quod feceris, defendere.

26 Scripta iam epistola superiore, accepi tuas litteras de publicanis, in quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare. Felicitate quadam[1] vellem consequi potuisses, ne eius ordinis, quem semper ornasti, rem aut voluntatem offenderes. Equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere; sed nosti consuetudinem hominum. Scis, quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q. Scaevolae fuerint. Tibi tamen sum auctor, ut, si quibus rebus possis, eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges. Id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae tuae.

## X

M. T. C. S. D. L. VALERIO ICTO.

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

Cur enim tibi hoc non gratificer, nescio; praesertim cum his temporibus audacia pro sapientia

[1] felicitate quadam *is Gronovius's clever emendation for* facilitate quidem.





hand over your province to your successor without a moment's delay, especially as you could not well thwart his eagerness for office without rousing a suspicion of such eagerness in yourself. As regards myself, I consider I have a double duty to discharge —to tell you plainly what I think, and to defend whatever you may do.

Since I wrote the foregoing letter I have read yours about the *publicani*,[a] and while I could not but approve the fairness with which you dealt with them, I could wish that you had managed by some happy dexterity to avoid falling foul of the interests or inclinations of a department you have always honoured. For my part I shall not cease to defend your decrees, but you know the traditions of that class of men; and you remember what bitter enemies they proved themselves to the great Q. Scaevola[b] himself. At all events I strongly advise you, if by any means you can do so, either to effect a reconciliation with that department, or to mitigate their resentment. It is a difficult problem, but I am sure you are shrewd enough to solve it.[c] 26

## X

M. CICERO TO L. VALERIUS JURISCONSULT[d]

Rome, 54 B.C.

[Cicero greets L. Valerius, "learned in the law"]— for I really don't see why I should not flatter you to that extent, especially since in these days one may safely put impudence in the place of erudition.

[a] The farmers of the public revenues of the State; they were drawn almost exclusively from among the *equites*, and Cicero, himself an *eques*, always staunchly supported the equestrian order.

[b] Quintus Mucius Scaevola, when governor of Asia in 99 B.C., endeavoured to protect the provincials from the extortions of the *publicani*, thereby offending the *equites*.

[c] Or "I think a man of your foresight should attend to it."

[d] L. Valerius was an intimate and dear friend of Cicero, but, though a jurisconsult, he was "no lawyer" (*cf.* iii. 1. 3). He was now in Cilicia, and had asked Cicero to write on his behalf to Lentulus, the then proconsul, but Cicero tells him he had much better come home, and banters him on his attempt to set up as "learned in the law" in the province.

liceat uti. Lentulo nostro egi per litteras tuo nomine gratias diligenter. Sed tu velim desinas iam nostris litteris uti, et nos aliquando revisas, et ibi malis esse, ubi aliquo numero sis, quam istic, ubi solus sapere videare. Quamquam, qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt, quod nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas. Sed iam cupio tecum coram iocari. Quare fac, ut quam primum venias, neque in Apuliam tuam accedas, ut possimus salvum venisse gaudere. Nam illo si veneris tam Ulixes, cognosces tuorum neminem.

[a] Cicero plays on the two meanings of *sapere*, (1) "to be well educated generally," (2) "to be a lawyer."

[b] *Respondere*, (1) "to answer when spoken to," (2) "to give a legal opinion." Cicero implies that Valerius is either rudely taciturn in conversation, or a bad lawyer.

[c] So Vesey translates, there being no need to question the reading (*tam*) of M¹. Literally "such a Ulysses." According to Homer, Ulysses did recognize his friends, but was not recognized by them. But Cicero simply means, "if you get there as a very old man, you won't remember any of your friends."





I have heartily thanked our friend Lentulus by letter in your name. I should like you, however, to make no further use of my letter of recommendation, but to come and see us again after all this time, and prefer to reside where you are of some account, rather than over there, where you seem to be the only man who knows anything at all.[a] And yet those who come from where you are accuse you either of arrogance in giving no "opinion"[b] at all, or of insolence in giving an "opinion" not at all to their taste. But I am really longing to have a merry chat with you *tête à tête*. So be sure you come as soon as possible, and leave your beloved Apulia unvisited, so that we may have the joy of celebrating your safe arrival. If you arrive there such a Methuselah,[c] you will not recognize a single friend.

# M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

## LIBER SECUNDUS

### I

M. T. C. S. D. C. CURIONI

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Quamquam me nomine neglegentiae suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam mihi molestum fuit, accusari abs te officium meum, quam iucundum, requiri; praesertim cum, in quo accusabar, culpa vacarem, in quo autem desiderare te significabas meas litteras, prae te ferres perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem et optatum amorem tuum. Equidem neminem praetermisi, quem quidem ad te perventurum putarem, cui litteras non dederim. Etenim quis est tam in scribendo impiger quam ego?

[a] The younger Scribonius Curio, now Quaestor to C. Clodius in Asia. He was "a kind of Roman Alcibiades," clever but utterly unscrupulous. He was ever a true friend to Cicero, whose part he took when the latter was in exile. Originally a Pompeian, he was bought over by Caesar, and Lucan says of him that he turned the scales in the civil war (Chron. Sum. for 50 B.C.). His career was not unlike that of his intimate friend M. Caelius Rufus, whom he also resembled in character. He was defeated and slain by Juba, king of Numidia, in 49 B.C.



# CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## BOOK II

### I

M. CICERO TO C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO[a]

Rome, 53 B.C.

THOUGH I am sorry you should have suspected 1
me on the score of "neglect," still I am more pleased that you missed my attentions than put out that you should accuse me of any remissness, especially since in so far as your charge went, I was in no sense to blame, while in so far as you implied that you longed for a letter from me, you openly avowed an affection for me, which, well as I knew it before, is none the less delightful and desirable. As a matter of fact I have not let a single carrier pass, if I thought he would reach you, without giving him a letter for you. Come now, who so indefatigable a correspondent as I? As for you, I have only

A te vero bis terve summum, et eas perbreves, accepi. Quare, si iniquus es in me iudex, condemnabo eodem ego te crimine; sin me id facere noles, te mihi aequum praebere debebis. Sed de litteris hactenus. Non enim vereor, ne non scribendo te expleam, praesertim si in eo genere studium meum non aspernabere.

2 Ego te abfuisse tamdiu a nobis, et dolui, quod carui fructu iucundissimae consuetudinis, et laetor, quod absens omnia cum maxima dignitate es consecutus, quodque in omnibus tuis rebus meis optatis fortuna respondit. Breve est, quod me tibi praecipere meus incredibilis in te amor cogit. Tanta est exspectatio vel animi vel ingeni tui, ut ego te obsecrare obtestarique non dubitem, sic ad nos conformatus revertare, ut, quam exspectationem tui concitasti, hanc sustinere ac tueri possis. Et quoniam meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio, te rogo, ut memineris, quantaecumque tibi accessiones fient et fortunae et dignitatis, eas te non potuisse consequi, nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. Quare hoc animo in nos esse debebis, ut aetas nostra iam ingravescens in amore atque in adolescentia tua conquiescat. Vale.

[a] "With a character so finished" Shuckburgh.





had two or three letters from you at the most, and those very short ones. Therefore if you judge me harshly, I shall find you guilty on the same charge; if you don't want me to do so, you will have to be lenient with me. But no more about correspondence; I am not afraid of failing to give you your fill of letters, especially if you show a proper appreciation of my efforts in that line.

I have grieved at your long absence from among 2 us, because I have not been able to enjoy your most agreeable society, but at the same time I rejoice that while absent you have attained all your objects with the greatest honour to yourself, and that in all your affairs fortune has answered my prayers. There is a little piece of advice which my extraordinary affection for you compels me to offer you. So much is expected of your courage, or, it may be of your capacity, that I do not hesitate to beg and beseech you to return to us in such a frame of mind[a] as to be able to uphold and justify all the expectations you have excited. And while it is true that no forgetfulness will ever efface the memory of what you have done for me, I beg you to remember that, whatever enhancements of fortune or honour may accrue to you in the future, you could never have secured them, had you not in the old days of your boyhood hearkened to the advice given you in all sincerity and affection by myself. And that is why your feelings towards me should be such, that, burdened as I am with the increasing weight of years, I should find repose in your love and in your youth.

## II

M. T. C. S. D. C. CURIONI

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

Gravi teste privatus sum amoris summi erga te mei, patre tuo, clarissimo viro: qui cum suis laudibus, tum vero te filio, superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset, ut te ante videret, quam a vita discederet. Sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. Tibi patrimonium di fortunent. Me certe habebis, cui et carus aeque sis et iucundus, ac fuisti patri.

## III

M. T. C. S. D. C. CURIONI

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Rupae studium non defuit declarandorum munerum tuo nomine: sed nec mihi placuit, nec cuiquam tuorum, quidquam te absente fieri, quod tibi, cum venisses, non esset integrum. Equidem quid sentiam, aut scribam ad te postea pluribus, aut, ne ad

[a] The elder Curio supported Cicero against Catiline, and called his consulship an ἀποθέωσις. On the other hand he defended Clodius in the affair of the Bona Dea, but Cicero remained his friend.





## II

TO THE SAME

Rome, 53 B.C.

In the person of your highly distinguished father[a] 1
I have been robbed of a substantial witness to my very great affection for you. Had he but been blessed with a sight of you before his death, he would have been the most fortunate man in the world, not only in his own achievements, but in having a son like you. But I trust that our friendship needs no witnesses. May heaven bless the estate you have inherited! In any event you will have in me one to whom you are just as dear and delightful as you were to your father.

## III

TO THE SAME

Rome, 53 B.C.

Rupa[b] has shown himself most anxious to ad- 1
vertise public spectacles in your name; but neither I nor any of your friends approved of anything being done in your absence which would not leave you with a free hand on your arrival. My own opinion I shall either send you later in fuller detail, or else, to prevent your thinking out arguments to

[b] A freedman and agent of the younger Curio, who was restrained by Cicero and other friends of the younger Curio from arranging public spectacles on the occasion of the elder Curio's death. Such shows were often given in connexion with funerals.

ea meditere, imparatum te offendam, coramque contra istam rationem, meam dicam: ut aut te in meam sententiam adducam, aut certe testatum apud animum tuum relinquam, quid senserim; ut, si quando (quod nolim) displicere tibi consilium tuum coeperit, possis meum recordari. Brevi tamen sic habeto, in eum statum temporum tuum reditum incidere, ut iis bonis, quae tibi natura, studio, fortuna data sunt, facilius omnia, quae sunt amplissima in republica, consequi possis, quam muneribus; quorum neque facultatem quisquam admiratur (est enim copiarum, non virtutis); neque quisquam est, quin
2 satietate iam defessus sit. Sed aliter, atque ostenderam, facio, qui ingrediar ad explicandam rationem sententiae meae. Quare omnem hanc disputationem in adventum tuum differo. Summam scito tui exspectationem esse, eaque a te exspectari, quae a summa virtute summoque ingenio exspectanda sunt; ad quae si es, ut debes, paratus (quod ita esse confido), plurimis maximisque muneribus et nos amicos et cives tuos universos et rempublicam afficies. Illud cognosces profecto, mihi te neque cariorem neque iucundiorem esse quemquam.

[a] "Study" Shuckburgh.
[b] *i.e.* public proofs of his energy and capacity.





meet it, I shall take you unprepared, and pit my view of the matter against yours, face to face, so that I may either bring you over to my way of thinking, or at any rate leave on record in your mind a duly attested declaration of my convictions, so that if ever you begin—I hope you never will—to be dissatisfied with your own decision, you may be able to recall mine. To put it shortly, however, you may take it from me that on your return you will find such a condition of affairs in general that you will more easily secure all political distinctions by means of the blessings bestowed upon you by nature, by your enthusiasm,[a] and by fortune, than by public spectacles; the ability to give them excites no admiration, for it is a sign of wealth, and not of worth; and there is nobody who is not now sick and tired of them.

But I am not acting as I declared I would; I am 2
entering upon a reasoned explanation of my views; so I postpone all discussion of this until you arrive. Let me assure you that you are most eagerly awaited, and that such things are expected of you as are naturally to be expected of pre-eminence in merit and capacity; and if you are prepared, as you ought to be, to satisfy such anticipations, and I am sure it is so, why, then the shows[b] with which you are sure to delight us, your friends, the whole body of your fellow-citizens, and the state, will be in the highest degree varied and magnificent. But there is one thing which you will assuredly discover—that nobody in the world is dearer or more delightful to me than yourself.

## IV

M. T. C. S. D. C. CURIONI

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Huius generis litteras a me profecto non exspectas. Tuarum enim rerum domesticos habes et scriptores et nuntios. In meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo, quae me magno opere delectant, unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti, non intelligo. Iocerne tecum per litteras? civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? quid est, quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem, nisi de republica? Atque in hoc genere haec mea causa est, ut neque ea, quae sentio audeam,[1]
2 nec quae non sentio, velim scribere. Quamobrem, quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula, qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata incredibilis

[1] audeam *inserted by Madvig.*





## IV

TO THE SAME

Rome, 53 B.C.

That there are many kinds of letters you are well aware; there is one kind, however, about which there can be no mistake,—for indeed letter-writing was invented just in order that we might inform those at a distance if there were anything which it was important for them or for ourselves that they should know. A letter of this kind you will of course not expect from me; for as regards your own affairs you have your correspondents and messengers at home, while as regards mine there is absolutely no news to tell you. There remain two kinds of letters which have a great charm for me, the one intimate and humorous, the other austere and serious. Which of the two it least beseems me to employ, I do not quite see. Am I to jest with you by letter? On my oath, I don't think there is a citizen in existence who can laugh in these days. Or am I to write something more serious? What is there that can possibly be written by Cicero to Curio, in the serious style, except on public affairs? Ah! but in this regard my case is just this, that I dare not write what I feel, and I am not inclined to write what I don't feel. 1

And so, since there is no subject left me for a letter, I shall fall back upon my usual peroration, and exhort you to an earnest quest of the highest glory. For you have a serious rival here, firmly established and ready for you, in the extraordinary 2

quaedam exspectatio; quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis esse elaborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem; et hoc, quidquid attigi, non feci inflammandi tui causa, sed testificandi amoris mei.

## V

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CURIONI

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Haec negotia quomodo se habeant, ne epistula quidem narrare audeo. Tibi, etsi, ubicumque es, ut scripsi ad te antea, in eadem es navi, tamen quod abes, gratulor, vel quia non vides ea, quae nos, vel quod excelso et illustri loco sita est laus tua, in plurimorum et sociorum et civium conspectu; quae ad nos nec obscuro nec vario sermone, sed et clarissima
2 et una omnium voce perfertur. Unum illud nescio, gratulerne tibi, an timeam, quod mirabilis est exspectatio reditus tui: non, quod verear, ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat, sed mehercule ne, cum veneris, non habeas iam, quod cures; ita





expectation you have aroused. This rival you will overmatch without difficulty if you do one thing—if you resolve that whatever be the qualities that achieve the glorious deeds on which you have set your heart, it is upon them that you must spend all your strength. I should write more to this effect, were I not assured that you are eager enough on your own account; and if I have touched upon the subject at all, it was not to set your ambitions ablaze, but to show my love for you.

## V

TO THE SAME

Rome, 53 B.C.

What the state of affairs is here I dare not tell 1
you even in a letter. As for yourself, although, wherever you are, as I wrote to you before, you are in the same boat, yet I congratulate you on being away, partly because you do not see what we see, and partly because your renown is set on a very high and conspicuous pinnacle before the eyes of thousands of both allies and fellow-citizens, and the report of it reaches me not by means of vague and varied gossip, but in the ringing tones of one
voice—the voice of all. One thing I am not sure 2
about, whether to congratulate you, or to feel anxious about you, since the expectations your return has excited are quite amazing; not that I am afraid that your great abilities will fall short of men's estimate of them, but—Heaven help us—that when you come you will find nothing to take charge of,

sunt omnia debilitata et iam prope exstincta. Sed haec ipsa, nescio, rectene sint litteris commissa; quare cetera cognosces ex aliis. Tu tamen, sive habes aliquam spem de republica, sive desperas, ea para, meditare, cogita, quae esse in eo civi ac viro debent, qui sit rempublicam, afflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus, in veterem dignitatem ac libertatem vindicaturus.

## VI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CURIONI

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Nondum erat auditum, te ad Italiam adventare, cum Sex. Villium, Milonis mei familiarem, cum his ad te litteris misi. Sed tamen cum appropinquare tuus adventus putaretur et te iam ex Asia Romam versus profectum esse constaret, magnitudo rei fecit, ut non vereremur, ne nimis cito mitteremus, cum has quam primum ad te perferri litteras magno opere vellemus. Ego, si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio, tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari quam a me ponderari solent, verecundius a te, si





so universal is the decay, indeed I may almost say, the destruction of our public interests. But I am not sure that it is safe to have entrusted to a letter even what I have just written; so you will be told all the rest by others.

As to yourself however, whether you have some hope left of the Republic, or whether you have none, be prepared with such aspirations and projects as ought to find room in the heart of that citizen, that hero, who is destined to rescue the State, prostrated and crushed as she is with the miseries of the times and the subversion of morals, and restore her to her pristine dignity and independence.

## VI

TO THE SAME

Rome, July, 53 B.C.

We had not yet heard of your approaching arrival 1
in Italy when I sent Sextus Villius, the intimate friend of my friend Milo, to you with this letter. Still, since it was supposed that you would arrive very shortly, and there was no doubt that you had set out from Asia *en route* for Rome, the matter was so pressing that I was not afraid of being in too great a hurry in dispatching the letter, as I was extremely anxious that it should reach you at the earliest possible moment.

If, my dear Curio, there were nothing to be considered but my services to you—services such as you constantly proclaim them to be rather than as I appraise them—I should not be so forward in

quae magna res mihi petenda esset, contenderem. Grave est enim homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id, quod petat, exigere magis, quam rogare et in mercedis potius, quam beneficii loco numerare videa-
2 tur. Sed quia tua in me vel nota omnibus vel ipsa novitate meorum temporum clarissima et maxima beneficia exstiterunt, estque animi ingenui, cui multum debeas, eidem plurimum velle debere, non dubitavi, id a te per litteras petere, quod mihi omnium esset maximum maximeque necessarium. Neque enim sum veritus, ne sustinere tua in me merita vel innumerabilia non possem, cum praesertim confiderem, nullam esse gratiam, quam non vel capere animus meus in accipiendo, vel in re-
3 munerando cumulare atque illustrare posset. Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industriam, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem in Milonis consulatu fixi et locavi, statuique in eo me non officii solum fructum, sed etiam pietatis laudem debere quaerere. Neque vero cuiquam salutem ac fortunas suas tantae curae fuisse umquam puto, quantae mihi sit honos eius, in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi. Huic te unum tanto adiumento esse,

[a] He refers to the great opportunities a man in his position has for eulogizing those who do him a service.

[b] *i.e.*, "in Milo's *consulship*" not "in Milo himself" (*in eo consulatu* not *in Milone*). This would, I think, remove the difficulty so many commentators find in *in eo*.

[c] Milo's election would not only strengthen Cicero's position, but enhance his reputation for loyalty to his friends.





appealing to you had I some important request to make. A man of any modesty finds it repugnant to address such a petition to one whom he thinks he has put under an obligation to himself, lest he should appear to exact rather than request what he wants, and to reckon the granting of it rather as payment for value received than as an act of kindness. Since, 2
however, on your side, your kindnesses to me are a matter of common knowledge, or it may be that my own unprecedented misfortunes have made them stand out in a strong and clear light, and since it is the mark of a generous disposition to wish to owe most to whom you owe much, I have not hesitated to ask you by letter to do something for me which is more important and more indispensable to me than anything else in the world. For I have never been afraid of being overwhelmed by your services to me, numberless as they are, especially as I felt confident that there was no favour you could do me which my heart could not find room for in the acceptance of it, or fail to recompense abundantly, and even to glorify in the requital.[a]

I have irrevocably invested all my aspirations, all 3
my energies, anxieties, exertions, and thoughts, in short, my whole heart and soul, in Milo's election to the consulship; and I have come to the conclusion that it is there[b] that I must look not only for some return for my good offices, but also for some reputation for loyalty.[c]

I doubt if any man has ever been so concerned for his own security and worldly wealth as I am for Milo's promotion to office, upon which depends, I am convinced, all I have in the world, and I realize that you are the one man who can, if you will, help

si volueris, posse intelligo, ut nihil sit praeterea nobis requirendum. Habemus haec omnia : bonorum studium conciliatum ex tribunatu propter nostram, ut spero te intelligere, causam, vulgi ac multitudinis propter magnificentiam munerum liberalitatemque naturae, iuventutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia propter ipsius excellentem in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam, nostram suffragationem, si minus potentem, at probatam tamen et iustam et debitam
4 et propterea fortasse etiam gratiosam. Dux nobis et auctor opus est et eorum ventorum, quos proposui, moderator quidam et quasi gubernator : qui si ex omnibus unus optandus esset, quem tecum conferre possemus, non haberemus. Quamobrem, si me memorem, si gratum, si bonum virum, vel ex hoc ipso, quod tam vehementer de Milone laborem, existimare potes ; si dignum denique tuis beneficiis iudicas : hoc a te peto, ut subvenias huic meae sollicitudini, et huic meae laudi, vel ( ut verius dicam) prope saluti tuum studium dices. De ipso T. Annio tantum tibi polliceor, te maioris animi, gravitatis,

[a] Though Milo was the son of C. Papius Celsus, he had been adopted by his mother's father, T. Annius.





him so much that we should not need any further assistance.

All these points are in our favour—the active support of the loyalists, which his tribunate won for him, as I hope you understand, on account of his defence of my cause, the support of the man in the street, on account of the magnificence of his public shows and the generosity of his disposition, the support of the young citizens, and of men of influence in securing votes, due to his own outstanding popularity, or it may be his assiduity in that connexion, and lastly, my own electoral support, which, though not so powerful as the above, has at any rate been tested and is only right and no more than his due, and on those grounds perhaps not without influence.

What we want is a leader, and a man of moral 4
weight, and a sort of controller and as it were a steersman to avail himself of those winds I have just described ; and had we to choose one man in the wide world, we should have nobody we could compare with you.

And for that reason, if you can regard me (and you can) as being not unmindful or ungrateful for a kindness, and as an honest man, if only for my strenuous exertions on Milo's behalf, if in short you deem me worthy of your beneficence (and you do), well, then what I ask you to do is just this—to relieve my present anxiety, and to devote your zeal to the defence of my reputation, or, to speak more accurately, of what is almost my personal safety in the present crisis.

As regards T. Annius[a] himself, I promise you this much, that you will find nobody of greater

constantiae benevolentiaeque erga te, si complecti hominem volueris, habiturum esse neminem. Mihi vero tantum decoris, tantum dignitatis adiunxeris, ut eumdem te facile agnoscam fuisse in laude mea, qui
5 fueris in salute. Ego, ni te videre scirem, cum ad te haec scriberem, quantum offici sustinerem, quanto opere mihi esset in hac petitione Milonis omni non modo contentione, sed etiam dimicatione elaborandum, plura scriberem. Nunc tibi omnem rem atque causam meque totum commendo atque trado. Unum hoc sic habeto; si a te hanc rem impetraro, me paene plus tibi, quam ipsi Miloni debiturum; non enim mihi tam mea salus cara fuit, in qua praecipue sum ab illo adiutus, quam pietas erit in referenda gratia iucunda. Eam autem tuo unius studio me assequi posse confido.

## VII

M. T. C. PROCOS. S. D. C. CURIONI TRIB. PL.

In castris ad Pindenissum, A.U.C. 703.

1 Sera gratulatio reprehendi non solet, praesertim si nulla neglegentia praetermissa est. Longe enim

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[a] *Contentio* is the struggle in the forum or Senate, and *dimicatio* the actual clash of contending mobs. Tyrrell.

[b] A town of E. Cilicia on a spur of Mt. Amanus, which was taken by Cicero after a siege of two months.





courage, steadiness, and constancy, or, if it be your pleasure to welcome him with open arms, of kindlier feeling towards yourself. As for myself, such is the glory and dignity with which you will have invested me, that I shall be prompt to recognize that you did as much for me in defence of my good name as you did in my restoration.

Were I not sure that you quite understand with 5
what serious intent I write these words, what a load of obligation I am shouldering, how whole-heartedly I must concentrate my strength on this candidature of Milo's, not only in every sort of effort but even in actual conflict,[a] I should write at greater length; as it is I simply entrust and hand over to you the whole business, the cause of Milo, and my own interests, without reserve.

Of this one fact you may rest assured, that if my appeal to you in this matter is granted, I shall almost owe more to you than to Milo himself; for my restoration—and in that I owe most to his support—was not so dear to me as will be my delight in owing my devotion by my gratitude; now that joy I am sure I can only realize through the active support of one single man, and that man is yourself.

## VII

M. CICERO, PROCONSUL, TO THE SAME, NOW TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS

In camp at Pindenissus,[b] late in 51 B.C.

Congratulations are not usually resented because 1
they arrive late, especially if there has been no negligence in their omission. I am a long way off,

absum: audio sero. Sed tibi et gratulor, et, ut sempiternae laudi tibi sit iste tribunatus, exopto, teque hortor, ut omnia gubernes et moderere prudentia tua, ne te auferant aliorum consilia. Nemo est, qui tibi sapientius suadere possit te ipso; numquam labere, si te audies. Non scribo hoc temere; cui scribam, video; novi animum, novi consilium tuum; non vereor, ne quid timide, ne quid stulte facias, si ea defendes, quae ipse recta esse senties.

2 Quod in id reipublicae tempus non incideris, sed veneris (iudicio enim tuo, non casu in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum), profecto vides; quanta vis in republica temporum sit, quanta varietas rerum, quam incerti exitus, quam flexibiles hominum voluntates, quid insidiarum, quid vanitatis in vita, non dubito, quin cogites. Sed, amabo te, cura et cogita nihil novi, sed illud idem, quod initio scripsi, tecum loquere, te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi obtempera; alteri qui melius consilium dare possit, quam tu, non facile inveniri potest, tibi vero ipsi certe nemo melius dabit. Di immortales! cur ego non adsum, vel spectator laudum tuarum, vel particeps, vel socius, vel minister consiliorum! tametsi hoc minime tibi deest, sed tamen efficeret





and I get my news late. But I do congratulate you, and earnestly pray that your tribunate may redound to your everlasting honour; and I exhort you to let yourself be guided and controlled in all things by your own common sense, and not be carried away by the proposals of others. There is nobody who can give you sounder advice than yourself; if you listen to yourself, you will never slip. I am not writing this in a haphazard way; I understand to whom I am writing; I know your spirit, I know your sagacity, I am not afraid of your showing either timidity or stupidity in anything you do, if only you maintain what you yourself feel to be right.

I am sure you understand the political situation 2
into which you have—no, not stumbled, but stepped; for it was by deliberate choice and by no accident that you flung your tribunate into the very crisis of things; and I doubt not that you reflect how potent in politics is opportunity, how shifting the phases, how incalculable the issues, of events, how easily swayed are men's predilections, what pitfalls there are and what insincerity in life.

But I beg of you, do not let your thoughts and anxieties take a new direction, but do just what I suggested at the beginning of my letter, have a talk with yourself, invite yourself to a consultation; give ear, and no deaf ear, to yourself; the man who can give better advice than you can to another, is far to seek; the man who will give better to yourself, does not exist. Ye everlasting Gods! why am I not at your elbow, to be the spectator of your exploits, to share or be a partner in your schemes, or even your agent in their execution? Though you have not the slightest need of it, still such is the

magnitudo et vis amoris mei, consilio te ut possem
3 iuvare. Scribam ad te plura alias; paucis enim diebus eram missurus domesticos tabellarios, ut, quoniam sane feliciter et ex mea sententia rem gessimus, unis litteris totius aestatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem. De sacerdotio tuo quantam curam adhibuerim, quamque difficili in re atque causa, cognosces ex iis litteris, quas Thrasoni, liberto
4 tuo, dedi. Te, mi Curio, pro tua incredibili in me benevolentia meaque item in te singulari, rogo atque oro, ne patiare, quidquam mihi ad hanc provincialem molestiam temporis prorogari. Praesens tecum egi, cum te tribunum plebis isto anno fore non putarem, itemque petivi saepius per litteras; sed tum quasi sectatore[1] nobilissimo, tamen ab adulescente gratiosissimo; nunc a tribuno plebis, et a Curione tribuno: non ut decernatur aliquid novi (quod solet esse difficilius), sed ut ne quid novi decernatur; et ut senatusconsultum et leges defendas, eaque mihi conditio maneat, qua profectus sum. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. [Vale.]

[1] *R has* senatore, *which Shuckburgh defends as meaning "only a senator, and not, as now, with the power of veto"*: sectatore *is Streicher's emendation, supported by Tyrrell.*

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[a] His campaign on Mount Amanus and occupation of Pindenissus.

[b] The College of Pontiffs, which co-opted its members, were probably disinclined to consider the candidature of a man of Curio's reputation.





extent and intensity of my affection, that I might have proved of some assistance to you with my advice.

I shall write to you more fully in another letter; 3
for in a few days' time I am going to send some private carriers of my own, so that, having now discharged a public duty with distinct success and to my own satisfaction, I may send the Senate in a single dispatch a detailed account of the achievements of the whole summer.[a]

As to your election to the priesthood,[b] you will be informed in the letter I have entrusted to your freedman, Thraso, what attention I have given it, and how difficult the business, and your particular case, has been.

I adjure you, my dear Curio, in the name of your 4
extraordinary friendship for me, and of mine, incomparable as it is, for you, not to allow any extension of time to be made in this irksome provincial government of mine.

I pleaded with you in person, when I little thought that you would be tribune of the plebs for this year, and I frequently repeated the petition by letter, but *then* it was addressed as it were to a very distinguished partisan, though a most popular young man, whereas *now* it is addressed to a tribune of the plebs, and that tribune Curio; and my petition is, not that some fresh decree should be passed, which is often a matter of considerable difficulty, but that no fresh decree at all should be passed, and that you should maintain the existing decrees of the Senate and the laws, and that the same terms should remain in force as when I left Rome. This I earnestly beg of you again and again.

## VIII

M. T. C. PROCONSUL S. D. M. CAELIO

Athenis, A.U.C. 703.

1 Quid? tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorum compositiones, ut vadimonia dilata et Chresti compilationem mitteres, et ea, quae nobis, cum Romae sumus, narrare nemo audeat? Vide, quantum tibi meo iudicio tribuam (nec mehercule iniuria, πολιτικώτερον enim te adhuc neminem cognovi); ne illa quidem curo mihi scribas, quae maximis in rebus reipublicae geruntur quotidie, nisi quid ad me ipsum pertinebit. Scribent alii; multi nuntiabunt. Perferet multa etiam ipse rumor. Quare ego nec praeterita nec praesentia abs te, sed, ut ab homine longe in posterum prospiciente, futura exspecto, ut ex tuis litteris cum formam reipublicae viderim, quale aedificium futurum sit, scire possim.

2 Neque tamen adhuc habeo, quod te accusem. Neque enim fuit, quod tu plus providere posses, quam quivis nostrum, in primisque ego, qui cum Pompeio complures dies nullis in aliis, nisi de republica, sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt

[a] A talented but profligate young nobleman, whom Cicero defended in 56 B.C. in the *Pro Caelio*. He was tribune of the plebs in 52, and curule aedile in 50. He joined Caesar in 49 and became praetor in 48. For a fuller account of him see the introductory note to viii. 1.

[b] Cicero had met Pompey at Tarentum.





## VIII

CICERO, PROCONSUL, TO M. CAELIUS RUFUS [a]

Athens, July 6, 51 B.C.

Well! Do you really think that this is what I 1
commissioned you to do, to send me reports of "the gladiatorial pairs," "the adjournment of trials," "burglary by Chrestus," and such tittle-tattle as nobody would have the impertinence to repeat to me when I am at Rome? Now observe what a compliment I am paying you by my judgement of you—and rightly so, upon my faith; for I have never yet known a man with a greater *flair* for politics than yourself—I am not anxious that you should write to me what is done each day, even as regards important political events, unless something touches me personally. Others will write, many will bring me news, much too will reach me even in the way of rumour. That is why I do not look to you for anything about the past or present, but as may be expected of a man who sees so far ahead into the future, about what is likely to happen, so that when your letters have explained to me the general political design, I may be in a position to know what sort of a building to expect.

So far, however, I have no fault to find with you; 2
for nothing has occurred which you could have foreseen any more than any other of us, and myself in particular, who have spent several days with Pompey,[b] talking about nothing else but politics; but our conversation could not and should not be

scribi nec scribenda sunt. Tantum habeto, civem egregium esse Pompeium, et ad omnia, quae providenda sunt in republica, et animo et consilio paratum.

Quare da te homini; complectetur, mihi crede.

Nam iidem illi et boni et mali cives videntur, qui
3 nobis videri solent. Ego cum Athenis decem ipsos dies fuissem, multumque mecum Gallus noster Caninius, proficiscebar inde pridie Nonas Quintiles, cum hoc ad te litterarum dedi. Tibi cum omnia mea commendatissima esse cupio, tum nihil magis, quam ne tempus nobis provinciae prorogetur. In eo mihi sunt omnia. Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit, tu optime constitues.

## IX

M. T. C. S. D. CAELIO RUFO AED. CUR. DES.

In vicinia Tauri, A.U.C. 703.

1 Primum tibi, ut debeo, gratulor laetorque cum praesenti, tum etiam sperata tua dignitate, serius, non neglegentia mea, sed ignoratione rerum omnium. In his enim sum locis, quo et propter longinquitatem et propter latrocinia tardissime omnia perferuntur.

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[a] Taking this as a quotation, and it sounds like one. Otherwise simply "put yourself in his hands; take my word for it, he will give you a hearty welcome."

[b] See i. 2. 4 and 4. 1.





repeated in writing. Of this much you may be sure, that Pompey is an excellent citizen and ready in heart and head to take any precautionary measure necessitated by the political situation.

To him then give thyself; right heartily
He'll welcome thee, believe me.[a]

For the same persons are either good or bad citizens in his eyes, who as a rule seem good or bad in ours.
Having been just ten days at Athens, and having 3
had plenty of our friend Caninius Gallus's[b] society, I am leaving the city on July 6, the day on which I send you per carrier this scrap of a letter. While I desire that all my affairs should have your most earnest attention, there is nothing I desire more than that there should be no extension of my term of office in the province. Everything that concerns me depends on that. When, how, and through whom that must be managed, you will be best able to decide.

## IX

M. CICERO, PROCONSUL, TO THE SAME AS CURULE AEDILE ELECT

Near Taurus, 51 B.C.

In the first place, I congratulate you, as in duty 1
bound, and rejoice not only in your present, but in your anticipated, promotion. I am rather late in the day, not through any negligence on my part; but because I know nothing at all of what is going on. For I am here in a district where news penetrates very slowly; it is so far away, and there are brigands

Et cum gratulor, tum vero, quibus verbis tibi gratias agam, non reperio, quod ita factus sis, ut dederis nobis, quemadmodum scripseras ad me, quae semper ridere possemus. Itaque cum primum audivi, ego ille ipse factus sum, scis quem dicam; egique omnes
2 illos adulescentes, quos ille iactitat. Difficile est loqui. Te autem contemplans absentem, et quasi tecum coram loquerer,

Non edepol, quantam rem egeris, neque quantum facinus feceris,[1]

Quod quia praeter opinionem mihi acciderat, referebam me ad illud:

Incredibile hoc factu obicitur.

Repente vero incessi *omnibus laetitiis* [laetus]. In quo cum obiurgarer, quod nimio gaudio paeno desiperem, ita me defendebam:

Ego voluptatem animi nimiam.

Quid quaeris? dum illum rideo, paene sum factus ille. Sed haec pluribus, multaque alia et de te ad te, cum primum ero aliquid nactus oti. Te vero, mi Rufe, diligo, quem mihi fortuna dedit amplificatorem dignitatis meae, ultorem non modo inimicorum, sed etiam invidorum meorum, ut eos partim scelerum suorum, partim etiam ineptiarum poeniteret.

[1] *subaudi* possum dicere.

[a] Hirrus, a man of ability and influence, notwithstanding Cicero's jibes, lispingly pronounced his own name as "Hillus," the vocative of which easily became "Ille," by which nickname he was known. We may infer from this letter that he was addicted to poetical quotations in his speeches.

[b] The end of the line (from a comedy by Trabea) is "summum esse errorem arbitror," "I regard as a most fatal error," which Cicero naturally leaves unquoted.





about. I congratulate you, but more than that, I can hardly find words to express my gratitude to you for having been elected in such a way as to give us, as you put it, "something to chuckle over for the rest of our days." So no sooner did I get the news, than I was transformed into that 'ero himself (you know the man I mean);[a] and I played the parts of all those young 'eroes of whom that 'ero brags.

I find it hard to express myself. But when I see 2
you with fancy's eye in distant Rome, and talk to you as it were face to face, well, I may say

By the great Twin, your luck is in! You've scored a huge success.

I was so surprised at its happening that I fell back on the old tag,

This fact flung in my face—I'll not believe it!

Then I suddenly strutted forth "merry as merry could be"; and when they rated me for being almost off my head with excess of joy, in self-defence I quoted:

The heart's undue elation I . . .[b]

To put it shortly, in laughing at him I nearly sank to the level of that 'ero myself.

But of this more fully, and much else about you 3
and addressed to you, as soon as I get a spell of leisure.

As for yourself, my dear Rufus, I love you; it was you that fortune appointed to enhance my prestige, to be my avenger on those who hate, as well as on those who envy me, to make them sorry, some for their crimes, others for their follies as well.

## X

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO RUFO
AEDILI CURULI DES.

In castris ad Pindenissum, A.U.C. 703.

1 Tu vide, quam ad me litterae non perferantur. Non enim possum adduci, ut abs te, posteaquam aedilis es factus, nullas putem datas; praesertim cum esset tanta res, tantae gratulationis; de te, quia quod sperabam, de Hillo[1] (balbus enim sum), quod non putaram. Atqui sic habeto, nullam me epistulam accepisse tuam post comitia ista praeclara, quae me laetitia extulerunt; ex quo vereor, ne idem eveniat in meas litteras. Equidem numquam domum misi unam epistulam, quin esset ad te altera; nec mihi est te iucundius quidquam nec carius. Sed
2 (balbi non sumus) ad rem redeamus. Ut optasti, ita est. Velles enim, ais, tantum modo ut haberem negotii, quod esset ad laureolam satis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ergo ita accidit. Nam Parthico bello nuntiato, locorum quibusdam angustiis et natura montium fretus, ad Amanum exercitum adduxi, satis probe ornatum auxiliis, et quadam etiam auctoritate, apud eos, qui me non norant, nominis nostri. Multum est enim in his locis:

[1] *Manutius's brilliant emendation for* nihilo *MSS.*

[a] Cicero is imitating Hirrus's lisp. See note *a* in the preceding letter, § 1.
[b] *i.e.*, he can now pronounce the "r" in *rem* and *redeamus*.
[c] *i.e.*, a triumph.





## X

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME

In camp at Pindenissus, November 14, 51 B.C.

Just see for yourself how letters fail to reach me! For nothing can induce me to believe that you have sent me no letter since your election to the aedileship, especially in view of its importance, and the hearty congratulations it demanded, in your case because it was what I hoped, in that of Hillus (pardon my lisp),[a] because I had not expected it. Anyhow you may take it as a fact that I have not received a single epistle from you since that splendid election of yours which threw me into ecstasies of delight; consequently I fear that my own letters may meet with the same fate. I assure you I have never sent home a single communication without its being accompanied by another to yourself; why, to me you are the dearest and most delightful fellow in the world. But (my lisp is gone) let us get back to business.[b] 1

It is just as you desired; for you say you could wish that I should be put to only just so much trouble as to secure me the laurel.[c] You fear the Parthians because you have no confidence in my forces. Very well, this is what happened. War with the Parthians is announced; reckoning on certain defiles and the natural trend of the mountains, I march my army to Amanus—an army well enough supported by auxiliaries and by the moral influence, if I may so call it, of my own prestige among people who did not know me personally. In these parts one con- 2

*Hicine est ille, qui Urbem . . . ? quem senatus . . . ?* nosti cetera. Cum venissem ad Amanum, qui mons mihi cum Bibulo communis est, divisus aquarum divortiis, Cassius noster, quod mihi magnae voluptati fuit, feliciter ab Antiochia hostem reiecerat: Bibulus
3 provinciam acceperat. Interea cum meis copiis omnibus vexavi Amanienses, hostes sempiternos. Multi occisi, capti; reliqui dissipati; castella munita improviso adventu capta et incensa. Ita victoria iusta imperator appellatus apud Issum (quo in loco, saepe ut ex te audivi, Clitarchus tibi narravit, Darium ab Alexandro esse superatum), adduxi exercitum ad infestissimam Ciliciae partem. Ibi quintum et vicesimum iam diem aggeribus, vineis, turribus oppugnabam oppidum munitissimum, Pindenissum, tantis opibus tantoque negotio, ut mihi ad summam gloriam nihil desit, nisi nomen oppidi; quod si, ut spero, cepero, tum vero litteras publice mittam.
4 Haec ad te in praesenti scripsi, ut sperares, te assequi id, quod optasses. Sed, ut redeam ad Parthos, haec aestas habuit hunc exitum satis felicem; ea, quae sequitur, magno est in timore. Quare, mi Rufe, vigila, primum, ut mihi succedatur,

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[a] *i.e.*, with the gaps filled up, "by whom the City was saved? whom the Senate called 'Father of his country'?"

[b] Diodorus says that 6000 of the enemy must have fallen before a general could be called *imperator* and claim a triumph, Appian says 10,000. During the later republic the title was conferred by the soldiers for the most trifling successes. (Tyrrell.)

[c] Who accompanied Alexander on his expeditions, and wrote his life.

[d] *i.e.*, that I should have a triumph; *cf.* § 2 above.





stantly hears this sort of thing: "Is this the man by whom the city was . . . whom the Senate . . . ?"[a] You can fill up the gaps for yourself. When I arrived at Amanus, a mountain I share with Bibulus, the line of demarcation being the watershed, our friend Cassius had already, to my great delight, succeeded in driving the enemy back from Antioch; Bibulus had taken over the province from him.

Meanwhile with all the forces I had I harassed 3
those everlasting foes of ours, the mountaineers of Amanus. Many were killed and captured, the rest scattered; their fortified strongholds, surprised by my arrival, were captured and burnt. And so, having been hailed, on the strength of a legitimate victory,[b] as Imperator at Issus (the place where, according to the story given you, as you have so often told me, by Clitarchus,[c] Darius was defeated by Alexander), I marched my army off to the most disturbed district in Cilicia, where for the last five and twenty days I have been attacking the very strongly fortified town of Pindenissus with earthworks, mantlets, and towers, in fact with such resources and so strenuously that I lack nothing to attain the height of glory—except the name of the town. If I take it, as I hope to do, then you may be sure I shall send a state dispatch.

I write thus to you at present to give you grounds 4
for hoping that you are in a fair way of getting what you desired.[d]

But, to return to the Parthians, this summer has had the quite successful ending I have described; it is next summer that fills me with alarm. For that reason, my dear Rufus, you must be wide awake in securing, firstly, that I have a successor; but if

sin id erit, ut scribis et ut ego arbitror, spissius, illud, quod facile est, ne quid mihi temporis prorogetur. De republica ex tuis, ut antea tibi scripsi, cum praesentia, tum etiam futura magis exspecto. Quare ut ad me omnia quam diligentissime perscribas, te vehementer rogo.

## XI

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Putaresne umquam accidere posse, ut mihi verba deessent, neque solum ista vestra oratoria, sed haec etiam levia nostratia? Desunt autem propter hanc causam, quod mirifice sum sollicitus, quidnam de provinciis decernatur. Mirum me desiderium tenet Urbis, incredibile meorum atque in primis tui, satietas autem provinciae; vel, quia videmur eam famam consecuti, ut non tam accessio quaerenda, quam fortuna metuenda sit; vel, quia totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui maiora onera in republica sustinere et possim et soleam; vel, quia belli magni timor impendet, quod videmur effugere, si ad
2 constitutam diem decedemus. De pantheris, per

[a] Or "too tough a proposition," lit. "too thick."





that prove, as you write and I can well believe, too heavy clay for your plough,[a] then (and that is easy enough) that there should be no prolongation of my tenure of office. On the subject of politics, I look to your letters, as I wrote to you before, for an account of current, and, even more, for a forecast of coming events. I therefore earnestly beg of you to write to me fully on all points with all possible assiduity.

## XI

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME, NOW CURULE AEDILE

Laodicea, April 4, 50 B.C.

Would you ever have thought it possible that 1
words would fail me, and not only those oratorical words you public speakers use, but the ordinary, homely words I use? And yet they do fail me, and for this reason—I am extraordinarily anxious as to what on earth may be decreed about the provinces. It is surprising how I yearn for Rome; you cannot believe how I yearn for my friends, and particularly for you; but as to the province, I am heartily sick of it, whether it be because I seem to have attained such a measure of fame, that I should not so much seek any addition to it, as apprehend a reverse of fortune, or because the whole business is unworthy of my powers, seeing that I can, and often do, carry heavier burdens in the service of the state; or because we have hanging over us the horror of a great war, which I seem likely to escape if I quit the province on the appointed day.

eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter; sed mira paucitas est, et eas, quae sunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia, nisi sibi, fiat; itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere. Sed tamen sedulo fit et in primis a Patisco. Quidquid erit, tibi erit; sed quid esset, plane nesciebamus. Mihi mehercule magnae curae est aedilitas tua. Ipse dies me admonebat. Scripsi enim haec ipsis
3 Megalensibus. Tu velim ad me de omni reipublicae statu quam diligentissime perscribas. Ea enim certissima putabo, quae ex te cognoro.

## XII

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 704.

1 Sollicitus equidem eram de rebus urbanis; ita tumultuosae conciones, ita molestae Quinquatrus afferebantur. Nam citeriora nondum audiebamus; sed tamen nihil me magis sollicitabat, quam in his molestiis non me, si quae ridenda essent, ridere tecum. Sunt enim multa; sed ea non audeo scribere. Illud moleste fero, nihil me adhuc his de

[a] Which Caelius wanted for the show he had to give as aedile.

[b] "The shikarees." Tyrrell.

[c] *i.e.*, the opening day, for this festival (in honour of Cybele, the Great Mother) lasted from the 4th to the 10th of April.

[d] Corresponding roughly to our Easter holidays, being held from March 19th to 23rd. The holiday this year was spoiled by the seditious meetings held by Curio in the rôle of demagogue.





About the panthers,[a] the business is being carefully attended to according to my orders with the aid of those who hunt them regularly[b]; but it is surprising how few panthers there are; and they tell me that those there are bitterly complain that in my province no snares are set for any living creature but themselves; and so they have decided, it is said, to emigrate from this province into Caria. Still my people are busy in the matter, and nobody more so than Patiscus. All the animals caught will be at your service; but how many there are, I have no idea. Your aedileship, I do assure you, is of intense interest to me; this day itself reminds me of it, for I write this on the very day of the Megalensia.[c] 2

I should like you to spare no pains in writing to me fully about the whole political situation; for I shall regard the information you give me as the most trustworthy. 3

## XII

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME

In Cilicia, 50 B.C.

I am indeed distressed about affairs at Rome; 1 reports reach me of such stormy meetings, such a worrying Quinquatrian vacation.[d] For I have no news as yet of what followed; but nothing distresses me more than that amid all these worries, if there is anything to laugh at, I do not share the joke with you. Of course there are many things to laugh at, but I dare not commit them to paper. What worries me is that so far I have nothing in the way

rebus habere tuarum litterarum. Quare, etsi, cum tu haec leges, ego iam annuum munus confecero, tamen obviae mihi velim sint litterae tuae, quae me erudiant de omni republica, ne hospes plane veniam
2 Hoc melius, quam tu, facere nemo potest. Diogenes tuus, homo modestus, a me cum Philone Pessinunte discessit. Iter habebant ad Adiatorigem, quamquam omnia nec benigna, nec copiosa cognorant. Urbem, Urbem, mi Rufe, cole, et in ista luce vive. Omnis peregrinatio (quod ego ab adulescentia iudicavi) obscura et sordida est iis, quorum industria Romae potest illustris esse. Quod cum probe scirem, utinam in sententia permansissem! Cum una mehercule ambulatiuncula atque uno sermone
3 nostro omnes fructus provinciae non confero. Spero me integritatis laudem consecutum; non erat minor ex contemnenda, quam ex conservata provincia. Spem triumphi? inquis. Satis gloriose triumpharem, si non essem quidem tamdiu in desiderio rerum mihi carissimarum. Sed (ut spero) propediem te videbo. Tu mihi obviam mitte epistolas te dignas. [Vale.]

[a] Son of Adjatorix, tetrarch of Galatia, afterwards executed by Augustus. Diogenes, a friend of Caelius, was probably going to Pessinus as tutor to Adjatorix. Philo was Caelius's freedman. Diogenes and Philo were justified in being doubtful of a warm welcome in Galatia, the tetrarch of which, Domneclius, Adjatorix's father, was afterwards executed by Augustus.





of a letter from you about these affairs. And that is why, although, when you read these words, I shall have already completed my year of office, I should still like to have a letter from you on my way home, to post me up in the general state of public affairs, so that I may not be an utter stranger when I arrive.
There is nobody who can do so better than yourself. 2
Your friend Diogenes, a nice quiet man, has left me and gone with Philo from Pessinus. They are on their way to visit Adjatorix,[a] though they were well aware that the whole situation there held out no prospect of either loving-kindness or lucre. Rome, my dear Rufus, Rome—stay there in that full light and *live*.

All foreign service (and this has been my conviction from the days of my youth) is obscurity and squalor for those whose active services at Rome can shine forth in splendour. And being so well assured of this, would that I had remained true to my creed! All the profits of a province are not to be compared, I swear it, with one single little stroll,
and one single talk, with you. I hope I have gained 3
a reputation of integrity; but that I gained quite as much by my rejection, as by my successful administration of a province.[b] "Any hope of a triumph?" you say. I should have quite a glorious triumph if only in the shortening of the period of my yearning for all that is dearest to me. But (such is my hope) I shall see you at an early date. Mind you send me some letters worthy of their writer to meet me on the way.

[b] He had refused the offer of a province on the completion of his consulship, in 63, and previously after his praetorship in 67.

## XIII

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Raras tuas quidem (fortasse enim non perferuntur): sed suaves accipio litteras; vel quas proxime acceperam, quam prudentes! quam multi et offici et consili! Etsi omnia sic constitueram mihi agenda, ut tu admonebas, tamen confirmantur nostra consilia, cum sentimus, prudentibus fideliterque suadentibus
2 idem videri. Ego Appium (ut saepe tecum locutus sum) valde diligo, meque ab eo diligi statim coeptum esse, ut simultatem deposuimus, sensi. Nam et honorificus in me consul fuit et suavis amicus et studiosus studiorum etiam meorum. Mea vero officia ei non defuisse, tu es testis, cui iam κωμικὸς μάρτυς (ut opinor) accedit Phania; et mehercule etiam pluris eum feci, quod te amari ab eo sensi. Iam me Pompei totum esse scis; Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid est causae, cur mihi non in optatis sit complecti hominem florentem aetate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis, affinibus,

[a] This letter was written some weeks before, and not after, Letter XII.

[b] Appius Claudius Pulcher, who succeeded Cicero as governor of Cilicia in 53 B.C.

[c] Phania seems to have been an intimate friend of Cicero and an intermediary between him and Appius. Cicero mentions him again in this connexion in iii. 1. 1.

[d] One who, for instance, identifies a long lost child. *Cf.* Shakespeare, *Lear*, I. ii. 146, "pat he comes, like the catastrophe of the old comedy."

[e] Appius was consul in 54 B.C.





## XIII

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME

Laodicea, early in May,[a] 50 B.C.

The letters I get from you are few and far between 1
(perhaps they do not reach me), but they are charming; to take only the last I got, how shrewd it was, how packed with kindness and good advice! Though I had already decided that I should have to act in every respect as you advise, I am none the less fortified in my intentions by the feeling that men of discernment and my faithful counsellors hold the same views.

For Appius,[b] as I have often remarked in my 2
conversations with you, I have a profound regard, and as soon as we buried the hatchet I felt that *I* had begun to win *his* regard. When consul he was prompt to do me honour, as a friend he is charming, and he takes an interest in what interests me. That I, on the other hand, never failed in my good services to him, you yourself can testify; and now I think I have the added testimony of Phania,[c] turning up like the witness in the *dénouement* of a comedy[d]; and, on my honour, I thought all the more highly of him because I felt that he was devoted to you. You know that I am now all for Pompey, and you understand that I am fond of Brutus. What reason is there why it should not be one of my particular desires to take to my heart one so illustriously blessed with youth, affluence, public honours,[e] ability, children,[f] relatives, connexions, and friends,

[f] Of his three daughters, the eldest married Pompey's eldest son, the second Brutus, and the third Cornelius Lentulus.

amicis, collegam meum praesertim et in ipsa collegi laude et scientia studiosum mei? Haec eo pluribus scripsi, quod nonnihil significabant tuae litterae, subdubitare te, qua essem erga illum voluntate. Credo te audisse aliquid. Falsum est, mihi crede, si quid audisti. Genus institutorum et rationum mearum dissimilitudinem nonnullam habet cum illius administratione provinciae. Ex eo quidam suspicati fortasse sunt, animorum contentione, non opinionum dissensione, me ab eo discrepare. Nihil autem feci umquam neque dixi, quod contra illius existimationem esse vellem. Post hoc negotium autem et temeritatem nostri Dolabellae deprecatorem me pro
3 illius periculo praebeo. Erat in eadem epistula veternus civitatis. Gaudebam sane, et congelasse nostrum amicum laetabar otio. Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Caesarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putaret praeter me? Nam, ita vivam, putavi. Di immortales! quam
4 ego risum nostrum desidero! Mihi erat in animo, quoniam iurisdictionem confeceram, civitates locupletaram, publicanis etiam superioris lustri reliqua, sine sociorum ulla querela, conservaram, privatis, summis,

[a] Dolabella was now prosecuting Appius for *maiestas*.
[b] He refers to Curio.





especially when he is a colleague of mine as augur, and even in dealing with the fame and erudition of our College has proved his devotion to me? I have written more fully on these points because your letter conveyed a slight hint that you had a lurking doubt as to my goodwill towards him. I expect you have been hearing something; if you have heard anything, believe me, it is a lie.

My own measures and policy differ to some extent in their very nature from his ideas of provincial administration, with the result that certain folks have perhaps suspected that my disagreement with him is due to the clash of incompatible temperaments, and not to a mere difference of opinion. Now I have never either done or said a single thing with the intention of disparaging his reputation. Indeed, since this trouble caused by our friend Dolabella's indiscretion,[a] I am putting myself forward as his intercessor in the day of his need.

In the same letter occurs "the lethargy of the 3
state." I am delighted to hear of it, and rejoice that my friend's[b] joints have grown stiff from having nothing to do. The postscript in your own handwriting gave me a twinge of pain. What's this? "Curio is now defending Caesar." Who would ever have thought so, excepting myself? For, on my life, I did think so. O ye everlasting gods! How I miss the laugh you and I would have had over it!

Now that I have finished my judicial duties, put 4
the states on a sound financial basis, secured for the *publicani* the arrears (just think of it) of the past five years without the slightest protest on the part of the allies, and have made myself pleasant

infimis fueram iucundus, proficisci in Ciliciam Nonis Maiis et, cum prima aestiva attigissem militemque collocassem, decedere ex senatusconsulto. Cupio te aedilem videre, miroque desiderio me Urbs afficit et omnes mei tuque in primis.

## XIV

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CURULI

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

Marco Fadio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiarissime utor, mirificeque eum diligo cum propter summum ingenium eius summamque doctrinam, tum propter singularem modestiam. Eius negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset res mea. Novi ego vos magnos patronos; hominem occidat oportet, qui vestra opera uti velit; sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem. Omnia relinques, si me amabis, cum tua opera Fadius uti volet. Ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero: in primisque, quid agas, scire cupio; nam iamdiu, propter hiemis magnitudinem, nihil novi ad nos afferebatur.

[a] Marcus Fadius Gallus, who wrote a panegyric on Cato of Utica.





to private persons of all ranks from highest to lowest, what I propose to do is this—to set out for Cilicia on May 15, and as soon as ever I have reached our summer quarters, and made my military dispositions, to quit the province in accordance with the decree of the Senate. I am anxious to see you as an aedile, and it is wonderful how I long for Rome, and all my friends, and for no one more than yourself.

## XIV

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

I am on terms of the greatest intimacy with Marcus Fadius,[a] a most excellent man and a very distinguished scholar; I have a wonderful liking for him, not only for his pre-eminence in genius and learning, but also for his singularly unassuming demeanour. I should be glad if you would undertake his business as though it were my own. Oh, I know you, you famous advocates! If a man would avail himself of your services, his proper course is to commit a murder. But in this man's case I take no excuse. You will drop everything else, if you will be my friend, when Fadius desires the benefit of your services. I am eagerly awaiting news of affairs at Rome, indeed I am pining for it; and most particularly do I want to know how you are. The winter has been so severe that it is now ever so long since we had any news at all.

## XV

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

Sidae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Non potuit accuratius agi nec prudentius, quam est actum a te cum Curione de supplicatione: et, hercule, confecta res ex sententia mea est, cum celeritate, tum quod is, qui erat iratus, competitor tuus et idem meus, assensus est ei, qui ornavit res nostras divinis laudibus. Quare scito me sperare ea,
2 quae sequuntur: ad quae tu te para. Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea, quae speras Tulliae meae prudentia temperari posse, scio, cui tuae epistulae respondeant. Quid, si meam legas, quam ego tum ex tuis litteris misi ad Appium? Sed quid agas? Sic vivitur. Quod actum est, di approbent. Spero fore iucundum generum nobis; multumque in eo tua nos humanitas
3 adiuvabit. Respublica me valde sollicitat. Faveo Curioni; Caesarem honestum esse cupio: pro

[a] A solemn thanksgiving decreed by the Senate, when a victory had been won. It was Cicero's second *supplicatio*, the first having been decreed him when he suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy—the first instance of such an honour being conferred upon a civilian.

[b] Hirrus, who had been Cicero's competitor for the augurate, and Caelius's for the curule aedileship (*cf.* ii. 9 and 10). The man with whom he "concurred" was M. Cato.

[c] *i.e.*, a triumph, to which Cato objected.

[d] Probably viii. 6. 2, alluding to Tullia's having left Dolabella, and the latter's injudicious talk. Such is the utter lack of chronological order in the MS. arrangement of these letters.





## XV

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME

Sida, early in August, 50 B.C.

Nothing could have been more correct or sensible 1
than your action in conjunction with Curio in the matter of my *supplicatio* [a]; and, really and truly, the business has been carried through to my entire satisfaction, not only in point of dispatch, but also because the man who was so angry, the candidate who opposed you and myself too at the polls,[b] concurred with the man who honoured my achievements with eulogies befitting a god. Be assured, therefore, that I am hopeful about the next step [c]; see that you make ready for it.

As for Dolabella, I am glad, firstly, that you 2
speak well of him, secondly, that you are actually attached to him; for when you express a hope of his possible reformation by the discreet influence of my dear Tullia, I know what letter of yours [d] that is intended to counterbalance. What if you were to read the letter [e] I sent at the time, in consequence of your letter, to Appius? But what is one to do? Such is life. What is done, may the gods approve. I hope I shall find him a pleasant son-in-law; and there your kindheartedness will be a great help to me.

The political outlook causes me great anxiety. 3
There's Curio—I am favourably disposed towards him; Caesar—I sincerely wish him all honour;

[e] No doubt he means the elaborate explanation he offered to Appius in iii. 12.

Pompeio emori possum. Sed tamen ipsa republica nihil mihi est carius; in qua tu non valde te iactas: districtus enim mihi videris esse, quod et bonus civis
4 et bonus amicus es. Ego de provincia decedens quaestorem Caelium praeposui provinciae. Puerum? inquies. At quaestorem; at nobilem adulescentem; at omnium fere exemplo; neque erat superiore honore usus, quem praeficerem. Pomptinus multo ante discesserat; a Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat; quem tamen si reliquissem, dicerent iniqui, non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquissem. Fortasse etiam illud adderent, senatum eos voluisse provinciis praeesse, qui antea non praefuissent; fratrem meum triennium Asiae praefuisse. Denique nunc sollicitus non sum; si fratrem reliquissem, omnia timerem. Postremo non tam mea sponte, quam potentissimorum duorum exemplo, qui omnes Cassios Antoniosque complexi sunt, nobilem[1] adulescentem non tam allicere volui, quam alienare nolui. Hoc tu meum consilium laudes necesse est:

[1] hominem *Tyrrell.*

[a] Pomptinus had been propraetor in Transalpine Gaul in 62, and in 61 fought so successfully against the Allobroges that he obtained a triumph. Tyrrell.

[b] Though quaestors were properly chosen by lot, Pompey had appointed Q. Cassius to be his quaestor, as Caesar had appointed Antony.





Pompey—I could shed my life-blood for him. But when all is said and done, nothing in the world is more precious to me than the Republic herself. And you? you are not making much of a show in that same Republic; being at once a good citizen and a good friend, you seem to me to be drawn in two directions.

On quitting my province I put my quaestor 4
Caelius in command. "A boy like that!" you will say. Yes, but a quaestor; yes, and a youth of noble birth; yes, and I followed a practically unbroken precedent, and there was nobody who had held a higher public office for me to appoint over his head. Pomptinus[a] had left long before; my brother Quintus could not be induced to take office; —and besides, had I left him behind me, the maliciously disposed would now be saying that I had not as a matter of fact quitted the province at the end of my year, as was the intention of the Senate, seeing that I had left behind me a second self. Probably also they would add that the intention of the Senate had been that only those should be governors of provinces who had not been governors before; whereas my brother had been governor of Asia for three years. In short, I am rid of all anxieties; had I left my brother behind me, I should have everything to fear. Lastly, it was not so much on my own initiative as according to the precedent set by the two most powerful men in Rome, who have eagerly taken up all the Cassiuses and Antoniuses[b] in the world, that in the case of this high-born youth I,—well, I was not so anxious to entice him to my side, as I was anxious not to make an enemy of him. You must perforce

5 mutari enim non potest. De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras, et in actis non erat. Tuae res gestae ita notae sunt, ut trans montem Taurum etiam de Matrinio sit auditum. Ego, nisi quid me Etesiae morabuntur, celeriter (ut spero) vos videbo.

## XVI

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

In Cumano, A.U.C. 705.

1 Magno dolore me affecissent tuae litterae, nisi iam et ratio ipsa depulisset omnes molestias, et diuturna desperatione rerum obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum. Sed tamen quare acciderit, ut ex meis superioribus litteris id suspicarere, quod scribis, nescio. Quid enim fuit in illis, praeter querelam temporum, quae non animum meum magis sollicitum habent,[1] quam tuum? Nam non eam cognovi aciem ingeni tui, quod ipse videam, te id ut non putem videre. Illud miror, adduci potuisse te, qui me penitus nosse deberes, ut me existimares aut tam improvidum, qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope iacentem desciscerem, aut tam inconstantem, ut collectam gratiam florentissimi hominis effunderem,

[1] *Klotz*: haberet *codd.*

[a] The *Acta diurna*, the "*Times*" of Rome.
[b] Winds that blow from the N.W. for forty days in summer in the Levant.
[c] For the political situation see Chron. Sum. This letter is in answer to Caelius's letter, viii. 16.





applaud this decision of mine, for it cannot be altered.

What you wrote to me about Ocella is not as 5 intelligible as it should be; and it does not appear in the *Gazette*.[a] Your exploits are so celebrated that the affair of Matrinius has been heard of even on the other side of Mount Taurus. If I am not delayed at all by the Etesian Winds,[b] I shall see you, I hope, pretty soon.

## XVI

M. T. CICERO, IMPERATOR, TO THE SAME

Cumae, early in May, 49 B.C.[c]

I should have been deeply grieved at your letter 1 had not my own reflection by this time stifled all sense of irritation, and had not I so long despaired of affairs that my mind had grown callous to any fresh grief. Why it should have happened, however, that my former letter should lead you to suspect what you mention in yours, I fail to see. What did that letter contain beyond a complaint of the times, which keep my mind on the rack, but no more so than yours? My experience of your acute intellect is not such that I could ever suppose you do not see all that I see myself. What surprises me is that you, who ought to know my inmost heart, could ever have been induced to regard me as either so short-sighted as to desert a cause exalted to such a height for one that is tottering and all but prostrate, or so inconsistent as to forfeit in a moment all the favour I had accumulated in the eyes of one now

a meque ipse deficerem et, quod initio semperque
2 fugi, civili bello interessem. Quod est igitur meum triste consilium? Ut discederem fortasse in aliquas solitudines? Nosti enim non modo stomachi mei, cuius tu similem quondam habebas, sed etiam oculorum in hominum insolentium indignitate fastidium. Accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum nomenque imperi, quo appellor. Eo si onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem. Sed incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed iam etiam in voculas malevolorum. Quod cum ita esset, nil tamen umquam de profectione, nisi vobis approbantibus, cogitavi. Sed mea praediola tibi nota sunt; in his mihi necesse est esse, ne amicis molestus sim. Quod autem in maritimis sum facillime, moveo nonnullis suspicionem, velle me navigare; quod tamen fortasse non nollem, si possem ad otium. Nam ad bellum quidem qui convenit? Praesertim contra eum, cui spero me satisfecisse, ab eo, cui iam satisfieri nullo modo
3 potest? Deinde sententiam meam tu facillime perspicere potuisti iam ab illo tempore, cum in Cumanum mihi obviam venisti. Non enim te celavi sermonem

[a] He refers to the words of Caelius in viii. 16. 1, "quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti."

[b] "But these laurels of mine attract not only the eyes, but now even excite the cries of my ill-wishers" Jeans. A play on the words *oculos* and *voculas* is obviously intended.





in the heyday of his prosperity, to prove myself a renegade to my own principles, and—what I have always avoided from the very first—to engage in a civil war.

What then is that "gloomy resolve"[a] of mine? 2
To withdraw perhaps to some desolate region? Well, you know how my gorge rises—there was a time when you felt like that yourself—and how my eyes also turn away in disgust at the abominable behaviour of these insolent fellows. There is, moreover, this parade of my lictors here, which embarrasses me, and the title of *imperator*, by which I am addressed. If I were rid of that burden I should be content with any hiding-place, however humble, in Italy. But this laurelled pomp of mine has now to meet not only the peering eyes, but also the jeering cries of my ill-wishers.[b] And yet, in spite of this, I have never for a moment contemplated leaving the country except with your and your friends' approval. But you know of my little estates; well, it is on them that I must live, so as not to be an incubus on my friends. But just because I find it most pleasant to live at my place at the seaside, I excite in some folks the suspicion that I mean to take ship; and after all perhaps I might not be disinclined to do so, if I could find peace at the end of the voyage. If there is only war awaiting me there, what is the good of sailing?—especially to fight against the man to whom I hope I have given satisfaction, and on the side of the man who cannot now be satisfied with me whatever I do?

Then again you might very easily have understood 3
my sentiments ever since the time you came to meet me at my Cuman villa; for I made no secret of what

T. Ampi; vidisti, quam abhorrerem ab Urbe relinquenda. Quod cum audissem, nonne tibi affirmavi, quidvis me potius perpessurum, quam ex Italia ad bellum civile exiturum? Quid ergo accidit, cur consilium mutarem? Nonne omnia potius, ut in sententia permanerem? Credas hoc mihi velim, quod puto te existimare, me ex his miseriis nihil aliud quaerere, nisi ut homines aliquando intelligant, me nihil maluisse, quam pacem; ea desperata, nihil tam fugisse, quam arma civilia. Huius me constantiae puto fore ut numquam poeniteat. Etenim memini in hoc genere gloriari solitum esse familiarem nostrum, Q. Hortensium, quod numquam bello civili interfuisset. Hoc nostra laus erit illustrior, quod illi tribuebatur ignaviae, de nobis id existimari posse
4 non arbitror. Nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad timorem fidelissime atque amantissime proponuntur. Nulla est enim acerbitas, quae non omnibus hac orbis terrarum perturbatione impendere videatur; quam quidem ego a republica meis privatis et domesticis incommodis libentissime, vel istis ipsis, quae tu me mones ut caveam, redemissem.
5 Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla respublica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam memoriam nominis mei; sin autem nulla erit, nihil

[a] *tuba belli civilis*, "trumpet of civil war," as being a violent advocate of "no compromise with Caesar."





T. Ampius[a] told me, and you saw how I hated the idea of leaving Rome. When I heard it, did I not declare to you that I would suffer any hardship on earth sooner than leave Italy to take part in a civil war? What has happened then to make me change my mind? Nay rather what has not happened to confirm me in my opinion? I should be glad if you would take my word for this—and I fancy it is what you think yourself—that I look for nothing else as the outcome of these miseries but that the world may at last realize that my one dominant desire was for peace; that, when there was no hope of peace, there was nothing I so persistently avoided as civil arms. My consistent conduct in this respect I think I shall never have reason to regret. Indeed I remember, that, in discussing such matters, it was a frequent boast of my dear friend, Q. Hortensius, that he had never taken part in civil warfare. My credit will be the more conspicuous in so far as in his case it was attributed to lack of spirit, whereas in my case I do not think such an idea could be possibly entertained.

And you do not frighten me with the arguments 4
you so very loyally and lovingly set before me to intimidate me. Why, in this world-convulsion there is no bitterness of woe that does not seem to hang over the heads of all of us—and most gladly would I have diverted this woe from the state at the cost of my own private and domestic troubles, aye, even of those of which you warn me to beware.

To my son (I am glad you like him) if any 5
form of government survives, I shall leave a sufficiently handsome inheritance in memory of my name; if there is no government at all, he

accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus. Nam quod rogas, ut respiciam generum meum adulescentem optimum mihique carissimum, an dubitas cum scias, quanti cum illum, tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet? Et eo magis, quod in communibus miseriis hac tamen oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum, vel potius nostrum, fore ab iis molestiis, quas liberalitate sua contraxerat, liberum. Velim quaeras, quos ille dies sustinuerit, in Urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi,
6 quam mihi ipsi socero non honestos. Itaque neque ego hunc Hispaniensem casum exspecto, de quo mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis, nec quidquam astute cogito. Si quando erit civitas, erit profecto nobis locus, sin autem non erit, in easdem solitudines tu ipse (ut arbitror) venies, in quibus nos consedisse audies. Sed ego fortasse vaticinor, et haec omnia meliores habebunt exitus. Recordor enim desperationes eorum, qui senes erant, adulescente me; eos ego fortasse nunc imitor, et utor aetatis vitio. Velim
7 ita sit. Sed tamen! . . . Togam praetextam texi Oppio puto te audisse. Nam Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat; sed eum infector moratur. Hoc

[a] Where Pompey's legates, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, were opposing Caesar, who after their defeat returned to Rome.

[b] The embroidered robe of a curule magistrate. Oppius was one of Caesar's most trusted agents.

[c] The *trabea*, a robe of purple and saffron, worn by an augur.

[d] Lit. "his dyer keeps him waiting." But *inficere* has the double meaning of "dyeing" and "corrupting," and Cicero insinuates that Caesar (the *infector*) had bribed Curtius to join him by the promise of an augurship—a promise he is now hesitating to fulfil. Jeans' rendering is exceedingly clever—"but the person *from whom he takes his colour* is keeping him waiting."





will be no exception to the common lot of his fellow-citizens.

When you ask me to keep an eye on the interests of my own son-in-law, excellent youth as he is, and very dear to me, can you, when you know how much both he, and, of course, my dear Tullia are to me, can you, I say, doubt that my solicitude for them causes me intense anxiety? And all the more so since, amid the universal misery, I had still this gleam of hope to comfort me, that my, or rather *our* Dolabella would be freed from those embarrassments in which his liberality had involved him. I should like you to inquire what sort of settling-days he faced when in Rome, how painful to himself, how far from creditable to myself, his father-in-law.

And so I am neither awaiting the issue of this 6
affair in Spain,[a] of which I have satisfied myself that your letter gives a true account, nor have I any crafty policy in my head. If ever there is to be a state, there will surely be room in it for me; if not, you will yourself, I imagine, come to those same desolate regions in which you hear that I have settled down. But maybe I am only raving, and everything will turn out better than we expect. I call to mind the fits of despair to which those folks were subject who were old men when I was a lad: perhaps I am now following their example, and indulging the weakness of my age. I hope it may be so; and yet . . .

I expect you have been told that Oppius is having 7
a *toga praetexta*[b] woven for him; for our friend Curtius has set his heart on a double-dyed robe[c]; but he finds his dyer's "*job*" takes time.[d] There's a pinch

aspersi, ut scires me tamen in stomacho solere ridere. De re[1] Dolabellae, quod scripsi, suadeo videas, tamquam si tua res agatur. Extremum illud erit—nos nihil turbulenter, nihil temere faciemus. Te tamen oramus, quibuscumque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare, ut amicitia nostra et tua fides postulabit.

## XVII

### M. T. C. IMP. S. D. CANINIO SALLUSTIO PROQUAESTORI

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Binas litteras a te mihi stator tuus reddidit Tarsi a. d. XVI. Kalend. Sextiles. His ego ordine, ut videris velle, respondebo. De successore meo nihil audivi nec quemquam fore arbitror. Quin ad diem decedam, nulla causa est, praesertim sublato metu Parthico. Commoraturum me nusquam sane arbitror; Rhodum Ciceronum causa puerorum accessurum puto; neque id tamen certum. Ad Urbem volo quam primum venire; sed tamen iter meum reipublicae et rerum urbanarum ratio gubernabit. Successor tuus non potest ita maturare ullo modo, ut tu me in Asia

[1] ridere Dolabella $M^1$ (Dolabellae $M^2$).

[a] The suggestion that Cicero may mean "though it be but the artificial laugh of a ventriloquist" need not be seriously entertained.

[b] This Sallustius is otherwise unknown.

[c] His son Marcus and his nephew Quintus, who were at school there; the former, we are told, required the spur, the latter, though somewhat of a glutton, the curb.





of pepper for you, just to show you that, in the midst of my chagrin,[a] I still have a laugh now and again.

As to Dolabella's business, I urge you to attend to it as though your own interests were at stake. One last word—I shall do nothing wildly, nothing rashly. I entreat you, however, in whatever country we find ourselves, so to protect me and my children as our friendship and your own sense of honour shall demand.

## XVII

### M. T. CICERO TO GNAEUS SALLUSTIUS,[b] PROQUAESTOR OF SYRIA

Tarsus, about July 18, 50 B.C.

Two letters from you were handed me by your orderly at Tarsus on July 17; I shall answer them 1
in due order, as you seem to desire. I have heard nothing about my successor, and I do not think I shall have one at all. There is no reason why I should not quit the province on the appointed day, especially now that all apprehension of the Parthians is removed. I have no idea at all of stopping anywhere, though I think I shall visit Rhodes for the sake of the Cicero boys,[c] but I am not sure even of that: I want to get to Rome as soon as possible, but in any case my journey will be guided by considerations of state and of affairs in the City. Your successor cannot possibly make such haste as to enable you to meet me in Asia.

2 possis convenire. De rationibus referendis, non erat incommodum te nullas referre, quam tibi scribis a Bibulo fieri potestatem: sed id vix mihi videris per legem Iuliam facere posse; quam Bibulus certa quadam ratione non servat, tibi magno opere ser-
3 vandam censeo. Quod scribis, Apamea praesidium deduci non oportuisse, videbam idem ceteros existimare, molesteque ferebam de ea re minus commodos sermones malevolorum fuisse. Parthi transierint, necne, praeter te video dubitare neminem. Itaque omnia praesidia, quae magna et firma paraveram, commotus hominum non dubio sermone, dimisi.
4 Rationes mei quaestoris nec verum fuit me tibi mittere, nec tamen erant confectae. Eas nos Apameae deponere cogitabamus. De praeda mea, praeter quaestores urbanos, id est populum Romanum, teruncium nec attigit nec tacturus est quisquam. Laodiceae me praedes accepturum arbitror omnis pecuniae publicae, ut et mihi et populo cautum sit de vecturae periculo. Quod scribis ad me de drachmis ccciↄↄↄ, nihil est, quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare. Omnis enim pecunia ita tractatur, ut praeda, a praefectis; quae autem mihi
5 attributa est, a quaestore curatur. Quod quaeris,

[a] He probably considered that it was no law, as all the enactments of Caesar in 59 had been passed in defiance of his *obnuntiatio*. Tyrrell. The law in question was passed by Caesar in his consulship; it required that, before their departure from their province, the governor and his quaestor should leave copies of their accounts in two of the principal provincial towns.

[b] *i.e.*, everybody but Sallustius was sure the Parthians had *not* crossed the Euphrates.

[c] The *quaestores urbani*, who remained at Rome and did





As to the delivery of your accounts, it is no inconvenience to me that you should omit to deliver any, for which you write that Bibulus gives you authority, but I hardly think you can omit to do so according to the Julian law; and though Bibulus, for a definite reason of his own,[a] refuses to observe that law, it should in my opinion be scrupulously observed by you. 2

You write that the garrison ought not to have been withdrawn from Apamea; well, I see that everybody else thinks so too, and I am annoyed that my ill-wishers have made rather disagreeable comments on it. Whether the Parthians have crossed or not is a question I see nobody has any doubt about except yourself;[b] and so, influenced by the positive way people spoke about it, I dismissed all the garrisons, strong and secure as I had made them. 3

My quaestor's accounts it was neither proper for me to send you, nor had they at that time been made up. It is my intention to deposit them at Apamea. As to my booty, with the exception of the city quaestors,[c] in other words the Roman people, not a soul has touched or will touch a farthing of it. 4

At Laodicea I think I shall accept sureties for all the public money, so that both I and the people may be insured against the risks of marine transport.

You write to me about the 100,000 drachmae; in dealing with that I can make no arrangement in favour of anybody; all the money is handled as booty by the *praefecti*,[d] while what has been assigned to myself is administered by the quaestor.

not accompany the consuls, directly represented the Roman people.

[d] Military, and not provincial; "quartermasters."

quid existimem de legionibus, quae decretae sunt in Syriam, antea dubitabam, venturaene essent, nunc mihi non est dubium, quin, si antea auditum erit otium esse in Syria, venturae non sint. Marium quidem successorem tarde video esse venturum, propterea quod senatus ita decrevit, ut cum legionibus
6 iret. Uni epistulae respondi: venio ad alteram. Petis, ut Bibulo te quam diligentissime commendem, in quo mihi voluntas non deest; sed locus esse videtur tecum expostulandi; solus enim tu ex omnibus, qui cum Bibulo sunt, certiorem me numquam fecisti, quam valde Bibuli voluntas a me sine causa abhorreret. Permulti enim ad me detulerunt, cum magnus Antiochiae metus esset et magna spes in me atque in exercitu meo, solitum dicere, quidvis se perpeti malle, quam videri eguisse auxilio meo: quod ego, officio quaestorio te adductum reticere de praetore tuo, non moleste ferebam; quamquam, quemadmodum tractarere, audiebam. Ille autem, cum ad Thermum de Parthico bello scriberet, ad me litteram numquam misit, ad quem intelligebat eius belli periculum pertinere. Tantum de auguratu filii sui scripsit ad me; in quo ego misericordia commotus, et quod semper amicissimus Bibulo fui, dedi
7 operam, ut ei quam humanissime scriberem. Ille si omnibus est malevolus (quod numquam existimavi),





What do I think about the legions decreed by the Senate for Syria? Well, I rather doubted before whether they would come; now, if the news that there is peace in Syria is received in time, I am quite sure they will not. 5

As to Marius, the successor to the province, I foresee that he will arrive late, because the Senate has decreed that he must not travel without the legions.

I have answered one of your letters, I now come to the second. You beg of me to recommend you as strongly as possible to Bibulus: I am perfectly willing to do so, but this seems a good opportunity for a word or two with you; you are the only man of all Bibulus's suite who never informed me how intensely Bibulus disliked me, and that without any apparent cause. It has been reported to me by scores of people that when there was great anxiety at Antioch, and great hopes of me and my army, he repeatedly declared that he would sooner suffer any hardship than be thought to have stood in need of my assistance; that you were keeping this back about your own praetor, from a sense of your duty to him as his quaestor, I did not so much resent, although I heard from time to time how you were being treated. But the man himself, when he wrote to Thermus about the Parthian war, never sent me a syllable, though he knew perfectly well that it was I who had to bear the brunt of that war. He did write to me, but only in reference to his son's augurship; and I, out of sheer pity, and because I had always been very friendly with Bibulus, took particular pains to write to him as courteously as possible. 6

Now if he is indiscriminately spiteful (and I have 7
never thought that), I am the less offended as regards

minus offendor in me; sin autem a me est alienior, nihil tibi meae litterae proderunt. Nam, ad senatum quas Bibulus litteras misit, in iis, quod mihi cum illo erat commune, sibi soli attribuit; se ait curasse, ut cum quaestu populi pecunia permutaretur: quod autem meum erat proprium, ut alariis Transpadanis uti negarem, id etiam populo se remisisse scribit; quod vero illius erat solius, id mecum communicat; *Equitibus auxiliariis*, inquit, *cum amplius frumenti postularemus*. Illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentia ieiuni atque inanis, quod Ariobarzanem, quia senatus per me regem appellavit, mihique commendavit, iste in litteris non regem, sed regis Ariobarzanis filium appellat. Hoc animo qui sunt, deteriores fiunt rogati. Sed tibi morem gessi: litteras ad eum scripsi, quas cum acceperis, facies quod voles.

## XVIII

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. Q. THERMO PROPR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Officium meum erga Rhodonem ceteraque mea studia, quae tibi ac tuis praestiti, tibi, homini gratis-

[a] Whatever taxes or spoils in Syria and Cilicia came into the Roman coffers in Asiatic coinage were exchanged into Roman money to the advantage of the Treasury. Tyrrell.

[b] *Ala* being the allied contingent attached to a legion, *alarii* may be rendered "allies" or "auxiliaries." Cicero refused to bring such auxiliaries all the way from beyond the Po to help him in his Eastern campaigns.

[c] Thermus was propraetor in Asia in 51 and 50; Cicero had a high opinion of him as an administrator. In the Civil War he fought on the side of Pompey.





myself; but if he has a special antipathy to me, a letter from me will do you no good. Why, in the dispatch Bibulus sent to the Senate, he gives himself the whole credit for what was as much my business as his; he says that it was he who arranged that the exchange of the money should be to the advantage of the people[a]; besides in reference to my refusal to employ Transpadane auxiliaries,[b] which was entirely my own idea, that too, he writes, was a concession made by himself in favour of the people. On the other hand, where he himself was solely responsible, he takes me into partnership "When *we*," quoth he, "demanded more corn for the auxiliary cavalry." But what follows is the mark of a petty mind, starved and enfeebled by its own spitefulness—because the Senate gave Ariobarzanus the title of "king" through me, and commended him to me, our friend in his dispatch does not speak of him as "king" but as the "son of King Ariobarzanus." To make an appeal to men of that spirit only makes them worse. But there, I have humoured you, and written him a letter, on receipt of which you will do as you please.

## XVIII

M. T. CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS,[c] PROPRAETOR OF ASIA

Laodicea, early in May, 50 B.C.

I rejoice exceedingly that my service to Rhodo[d] and any other efforts of mine on behalf of you and yours have earned your gratitude, very grateful man that 1

[d] A friend of Thermus.

simo, grata esse vehementer gaudeo, mihique scito in dies maiori curae esse dignitatem tuam; quae quidem a te ipso integritate et clementia tua sic
2 amplificata est, ut nihil addi posse videatur. Sed mihi magis magisque quotidie de rationibus tuis cogitanti placet illud meum consilium, quod initio Aristoni nostro, ut ad me venit, ostendi; graves te suscepturum inimicitias, si adulescens potens et nobilis a te ignominia affectus esset: et hercle sine dubio erit ignominia; habes enim neminem honoris gradu superiorem. Ille autem, ut omittam nobilitatem, hoc ipso vincit viros optimos hominesque innocentissimos, legatos tuos, quod et quaestor est, et quaestor tuus. Nocere tibi iratum neminem posse perspicio; sed tamen tres fratres, summo loco natos, promptos, non indisertos, te nolo habere iratos, iure praesertim; quos video deinceps tribunos plebis
3 per triennium fore. Tempora autem reipublicae qualia futura sint, quis scit? Mihi quidem turbulenta videntur fore. Cur ego te velim incidere in terrores tribunicios, praesertim cum sine cuiusquam reprehensione quaestoriis legatis quaestorem possis anteferre? Qui si dignum se maioribus suis praebuerit (ut spero et opto), tua laus ex aliqua parte fuerit. Sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit. Quae mihi veniebant in mentem, quae

[a] Gaius Antonius, brother of Marcus the triumvir, tribune in 49 B.C. and of Lucius, tribune in 44. It does not appear that Gaius himself was ever tribune. Gaius was now quaestor in Asia, and Cicero urges Thermus to leave him in charge of the province.

[b] The three Antonii mentioned in note *a*.





you are, and you may rest assured that I grow more interested every day in your high position; and, indeed, you have yourself so enhanced it by your probity and clemency, that it seems incapable of improvement. But, meditating daily as I do on your 2
methods, I am more and more satisfied with that advice of mine I originally offered to our friend Aristo when he came to see me, that you would be incurring serious hostility in many quarters if you branded with official disgrace a young man[a] of great power and high birth, and a disgrace it certainly will be, there is no doubt of it; for you have nobody who stands above him in official rank. Now that young man, not to mention his nobility, takes precedence of those excellent men of unblemished record, your legates, by virtue of the very fact that he is a quaestor, and your own quaestor too. I am quite aware that there is nobody who can harm you by being angry. Still I don't like your having three brothers,[b] men of the highest birth, prompt in action and not lacking in eloquence, all angry with you at once, especially when they have right on their side; and I see that they will be tribunes of the plebs, one after the other, for a period of three years.

But, as to the Republic, who knows what sort of 3
weather is in store for it? My forecast is "squally." Why should I want you to face the terrors of the tribunes' wrath, especially when nobody could say a word against it if you promoted a quaestor over the heads of a quaestor's legates? If he proves himself worthy of his ancestors, as I hope and pray he will, the credit in a great measure will be yours; if he makes any mistake, it will be entirely his own affair, and not yours at all. As I am starting for Cilicia, I thought

ad te pertinere arbitrabar, quod in Ciliciam proficiscebar, existimavi me ad te oportere scribere. Tu, quod egeris, id velim di approbent. Sed, si me audies, vitabis inimicitias et posteritatis otio consules.

## XIX

M. TULLIUS M. F. M. N. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. CAELIO L. F. C. N. CALDO QUAEST.

In castris ad Pyramum, A.U.C. 704.

1 Cum optatissimum nuntium accepissem, te mihi quaestorem obtigisse, eo iucundiorem mihi eam sortem sperabam fore, quo diutius in provincia mecum fuisses. Magni enim videbatur interesse ad eam necessitudinem, quam nobis sors tribuisset, consuetudinem quoque accedere. Postea cum mihi nihil neque a te ipso, neque ab ullo alio de adventu tuo scriberetur, verebar, ne ita caderet, quod etiam nunc vereor, ne ante, quam tu in provinciam venisses, ego de provincia decederem. Accepi autem a te missas litteras in Cilicia, cum essem in castris, a. d. x. Kal. Quintiles, scriptas humanissime, quibus facile et officium et ingenium tuum perspici posset. Sed neque unde, neque quo die datae essent, aut quo tempore te exspectarem, significabant; nec is, qui





it my duty to write and tell you anything that occurs to me which I consider affects your interests. Whatever you may do, I pray for the gods' blessing upon it. But if you listen to me, you will avoid making enemies, and take thought for your tranquillity in the days to come.

## XIX

M. T. CICERO TO CAELIUS CALDUS, HIS QUAESTOR

Camp at Pyramus, June 21, B.C. 50

Marcus Tullius Cicero, Imperator, son of Marcus, grandson of Marcus, greets Gaius Caelius Caldus, son of Lucius, grandson of Gaius, Quaestor. 1

When I heard the very welcome news that I had drawn you as my quaestor, I hoped that the longer you were with me in the province, the better pleased I should be with that result of the drawing of lots; for it seemed to me of great importance that the bond forged between us by the lot should be further strengthened by personal intimacy. Later on, when I received no communication as to your arrival either from yourself or from anybody else, I began to fear that it would so fall out (and indeed I still fear it), that before you had reached the province I should be quitting the province. However, when in camp at Cilicia, I received on June 21, a letter you had sent me, and a most courteously worded letter it was, which made it easy for me to form a true estimate both of your sense of duty and your capacity. But it gave me no indication either of the place or the date of its dispatch, or of the time I was to expect

attulerat, a te acceperat, ut ex eo scirem, quo ex
2 loco aut quo tempore essent datae. Quae cum essent incerta, existimavi tamen esse faciundum, ut ad te statores meos et lictores cum litteris mitterem: quas si satis opportuno tempore accepisti, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me in Ciliciam quam primum veneris. Nam quod ad me Curius, consobrinus tuus, mihi (ut scis) maxime necessarius, quod item C. Vergilius, propinquus tuus, familiarissimus noster, de te accuratissime scripsit, valet id quidem apud me multum, sicuti debet hominum amicissimorum diligens commendatio; sed tuae litterae, de tua praesertim dignitate et de nostra coniunctione, maximi sunt apud me ponderis. Mihi quaestor optatior obtingere nemo potuit. Quamobrem quaecumque a me ornamenta ad te proficiscentur; . . .[1] ut omnes intelligant a me habitam esse rationem tuae maiorumque tuorum dignitatis. Sed id facilius consequar, si ad me in Ciliciam veneris, quod ego et mea et reipublicae et maxime tua interesse arbitror.

[1] <proficisci poterunt> *Madvig.* *Perhaps* <ita proficiscentur>.

[a] Aedile in 65, and praetor in 62, Cicero's brother Quintus being his colleague in both offices.





you; and the carrier who delivered it was not the man to whom you had handed it, in which case he might have told me from what place or at what time it had been dispatched.

Anyhow, uncertain as things were, I thought I 2
should make a point of sending my orderlies and lictors to you with a letter; and if you receive it in time enough, you will do me a very great favour if you join me in Cilicia as soon as possible.

For what Curius, your cousin, and a man, as you know, to whom I am greatly attached, and C. Vergilius[a] also, your kinsman and my very intimate friend, have written to me about you with such careful elaboration has, of course, great influence with me, as the studied recommendation of men who are emphatically my friends is bound to have; but your own letter, especially on the subject of your position, and our being thus associated, carries more weight with me than anything else. No more desirable quaestor could possibly have fallen to my lot. And that is why any such marks of distinction as can find their way from me to you, will so find their way, that the world may recognize that I have shown no lack of regard for your own and your ancestors' prestige. But I can the more easily effect this if you join me in Cilicia; and that I regard as of importance to me and to the state, and most of all to yourself.

# M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

## LIBER TERTIUS

### I

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 702.

1 Si ipsa respublica tibi narrare posset, quomodo sese haberet, non facilius ex ea cognoscere posses, quam ex liberto tuo Phania, ita est homo non modo prudens, verum etiam (quod iuvet) curiosus. Quapropter ille tibi omnia explanabit. Id enim et ad brevitatem est aptius, et ad reliquas res providentius. De mea autem benevolentia erga te etsi potes ex eodem Phania cognoscere, tamen videntur etiam aliquae meae partes. Sic enim tibi persuade, carissimum te mihi esse cum propter multas suavitates ingeni, offici, humanitatis tuae, tum quod ex tuis litteris et ex multorum sermonibus intellego, omnia,

[a] Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of Cicero's enemy Clodius, and the notorious Clodia, was praetor in 57, and propraetor of Sardinia in 56. In 54 he was consul with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. In 53 he was proconsul in Cilicia, which he governed with ruthless rapacity. Being succeeded in that province by Cicero in 51, on his return to Rome he was impeached by Dolabella, but acquitted. In 50 he was censor with L. Piso. In 49 he joined Pompey,



# CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## BOOK III

### I

M. T. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, IMPERATOR [a]

Rome, 52 B.C.

WERE the state herself able to give you an account of her present condition, you would not learn it from her more easily than from your freedman Phania; so sagacious is he, and not only that, but also (in no unpleasant sense) [b] inquisitive; he will, therefore, make everything plain to you; for that helps me to make my letter shorter, and is less risky in view of other matters. Now as regards my goodwill towards you, though you can learn it from the lips of that same Phania, I think none the less that I personally have some part to play in the expression of it. 1

You must convince yourself that you are very dear to me, both on account of the many charms of your character, your courtesy and kindliness, and also because I gather from your letter, and from what many have told me in conversation, that all that has

but died in Greece before the battle of Pharsalia. He was an augur, and dedicated a book on augural discipline to Cicero. All the letters in this Book are addressed to him.

[b] Lit. "so far as to be pleasing."

quae a me profecta sunt in te, tibi accidisse gratissima. Quod cum ita sit, perficiam profecto, ut longi temporis usuram, qua caruimus, intermissa nostra consuetudine et gratia et crebritate et magnitudine officiorum meorum sarciam; idque me (quoniam tu ita vis) puto non invita Minerva esse facturum; quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum Pallada, sed etiam Appiada no-
2 minabo. Cilix, libertus tuus, antea mihi minus fuit notus; sed ut mihi reddidit a te litteras, plenas et amoris et offici, mirifice ipse suo sermone subsecutus est humanitatem litterarum tuarum. Iucunda mihi eius oratio fuit, cum de animo tuo, de sermonibus, quos de me haberes quotidie, mihi narraret. Quid quaeris? Biduo factus est mihi familiaris, ita tamen, ut Phaniam valde sim desideraturus; quem cum Romam remittes, quod (ut putabamus) celeriter eras facturus, omnibus ei de rebus, quas agi, quas
3 curari a me voles, mandata des velim. L. Valerium, iureconsultum, valde tibi commendo; sed ita etiam si non est iureconsultus. Melius enim ei cavere volo, quam ipse aliis solet. Valde hominem diligo; est ex meis domesticis atque intimis familiaribus. Omnino tibi agit gratias; sed idem scribit, meas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras. Id eum ne fallat, te etiam atque etiam rogo. [Vale.]

[a] Due to the estrangement caused by P. Clodius's conduct.

[b] *i.e.*, "with all my heart and soul,"—Minerva representing man's mental and spiritual qualities.

[c] Possibly the Appian family had become possessed, through P. Clodius, of the statue of Minerva which Cicero had dedicated before he went into exile, and he here gives Appius a gentle hint that he would like to have it back again, and in acknowledgement of its restitution would call it, not Pallas Athene, but Pallas Appias. Tyrrell. [d] *Vide* i. 10.





passed from me to you has turned out to be very acceptable to you. And that being so, I shall assuredly guarantee to repair the enjoyment of the many days we have lost through the interruption of our intimacy[a] by the acceptability, the frequency, and the magnitude of my services to you; and, as it is your wish too, I may say that I shall do so "not against Minerva's will"[b]; and if I secure a statue of *her* from your collection, I shall entitle her, not Pallas only, but also Appias.[c]

Cilix, your freedman, I knew but slightly before; 2
but ever since he delivered me your letter, so full as it was of affection and kindness, he has himself by his own words followed up in a wonderful way the courtesy with which you wrote. It was a delight to me to hear him holding forth as he told me all about your kindly feeling, and the remarks you made about me day after day. In short, in two days he became my intimate friend—not so much so, however, that I am likely to cease missing Phania very much; and talking of Phania, when you send him back to Rome, which I imagine you intend to do very soon, I should be glad if you would give him instructions as to everything you wish me to do or look after.

L. Valerius,[d] the lawyer, I strongly recommend to 3
you, and that too even if he is—well, no lawyer. For I wish to take sounder "precautionary measures" for him than he usually does for others. I am very fond of the man; he is of my household, and one of my most intimate friends. He is unfailing in his expressions of gratitude to you; but he also writes that what would carry the greatest weight with you is a letter from me. I beg of you again and again not to let him be disappointed in that expectation.

## II

M. T. C. S. D. PROCOS. APPIO PULCHRO IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Cum et contra voluntatem meam et praeter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam proficisci necesse esset, in multis et variis molestiis cogitationibusque meis haec una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere, neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere. Quod si tu quoque eamdem de mea voluntate erga te spem habes, ea te profecto numquam fallet. A te maximo opere, pro nostra summa coniunctione tuaque singulari humanitate, etiam atque etiam quaeso et peto, ut, quibuscumque rebus poteris (poteris autem plurimis),
2 prospicias et consulas rationibus meis. Vides ex senatusconsulto provinciam esse habendam. Si eam (quoad eius facere potueris) quam expeditissimam mihi tradideris, facilior erit mihi quasi decursus mei

[a] The governorship of a *consular* province carried with it the *imperium*—the command of imperial forces, military and naval.

[b] Both were members of the College of Augurs, and both wrote treatises on augural law.

[c] In 52 Pompey had carried, among other measures, a law *de provinciis*, providing that five years at least must elapse between holding office in Rome and taking up the government of a province. That Cicero had no desire for provincial government is shown by his resigning the chance of a province after his consulship in 63 (*cf.* v. 2. 3). In 51, however, the Senate decreed that all qualified ex-magistrates who had not yet governed a province *must* (apparently in order of seniority) accept such appointments; and Cicero was thus, twelve years after his consulship, compelled to draw lots for a consular province: he drew Cilicia, and his colleague in the consulship, Bibulus, soon after obtained Syria.





## II

TO THE SAME, WHEN PROCONSUL IN CILICIA

Rome, 51 B.C.

Though it has come about both against my inclinations and contrary to my expectations that I am obliged to set out for a province with *imperium*,[a] amid my many and varied annoyances and reflections the one consolation that suggests itself to me is, that *you* could have no better friend than I am as your successor, and that *I* could take over the province from nobody who would be more anxious to hand it over to me in the best possible order and with all difficulties smoothed away. And if you, too, have the same hope as regards my goodwill towards you, you will assuredly never be disappointed in that hope. I beg and beseech you again and again with the greatest earnestness, in the name of our very close connexion,[b] and of your own incomparable kindliness, in whatever respect you can (and you can in very many respects) to look ahead and take measures for the protection of my interests. 1

You see that by a decree of the Senate I am obliged to take a province.[c] If, so far as you find it feasible in the circumstances,[d] you hand it over to me as unencumbered with difficulties as you can, it will be the easier for me to run the whole race (if I 2

[d] Lit. "whatever of that (*eius*) you shall have been able to effect."

temporis. Quid in eo genere efficere possis, tui consili est. Ego te, quod tibi veniet in mentem mea interesse, valde rogo. Pluribus verbis ad te scriberem, si aut tua humanitas longiorem orationem exspectaret, aut id fieri nostra amicitia pateretur, aut res verba desideraret ac non pro se ipsa loqueretur. Hoc velim tibi persuadeas, si rationibus meis a te provisum esse intellexero, magnam te ex eo et perpetuam voluptatem esse capturum. Vale.

## III

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

Brundisi, A.U.C. 703.

1 A.D. XI. Kalendas Iunias Brundisium cum venissem, Q. Fabius Vergilianus,[1] legatus tuus, mihi praesto fuit, eaque me ex tuis mandatis monuit, quae non modo mihi, ad quem pertinebant, sed universo senatui venerant in mentem, praesidio firmiore opus esse ad istam provinciam. Censebant enim omnes fere, ut in Italia supplementum meis et Bibuli legionibus scriberetur. Id cum Sulpicius consul passurum se negaret, multa nos quidem questi sumus, sed tantus consensus senatus fuit, ut mature proficisceremur, parendum ut fuerit; itaque fecimus. Nunc, quod a te petii litteris iis, quas Romae tabellariis tuis dedi, velim tibi curae sit, ut, quae

[1] *Added by Bengel from* iii. 4. 1.

[a] See end of note *c* to the previous letter.





may so call it) of my term of office. What you can effect in that connexion it is for you to judge; I earnestly beg you to do what occurs to you as being of importance to me. I should write to you at greater length, if your kindly feeling looked for a longer appeal, or our friendship permitted any such formality, or if the situation called for any words and did not speak for itself. I should like you to convince yourself of this, that if I am satisfied that you have made provision for my interests, the result will be a rich and never-ending harvest of satisfaction to yourself. Farewell.

## III

TO THE SAME

Brundisium, about May 24, 51 B.C.

When I arrived at Brundisium on May 22 your legate Q. Fabius Vergilianus was on the spot to receive me; and, in accordance with your instructions, he brought to my notice what had suggested itself not only to myself, who was most concerned, but to the whole Senate—that there was need of a stronger garrison for your province. For practically all were of opinion that reinforcements should be enrolled in Italy for my legions and those of Bibulus.[a] When Sulpicius as consul declared that he would not allow it, we protested, it is true, on many grounds, but so unanimous was the Senate on the point of our early departure that we had to comply, and we did so. As matters stand—and this is the request I made of you in the letter I put in the hands of your letter-carriers at Rome—I should be glad if you would make it your concern, in view of the close 1

successori coniunctissimo et amicissimo commodare potest is, qui provinciam tradit, ea, pro nostra consociatissima voluntate, cura ac diligentia tua complectare; ut omnes intelligant, nec me benevolentiori cuiquam succedere, nec te amiciori potuisse
2 provinciam tradere. Ex iis litteris, quarum ad me exemplum misisti, quas in senatu recitari voluisti, sic intellexeram, permultos a te milites esse dimissos; sed mihi Fabius idem demonstravit, id te cogitasse facere, sed cum ipse a te discederet, integrum militum numerum fuisse. Id si ita est, pergratum mihi feceris, si istas exiguas copias, quas habuisti, quam minime imminueris; qua de re senatusconsulta, quae facta sunt, ad te missa esse arbitror. Equidem pro eo, quanti te facio, quidquid feceris, approbabo; sed te quoque confido ea facturum, quae mihi intelliges maxime esse accommodata. Ego C. Pomptinum, legatum meum, Brundisi exspectabam, eumque ante Kalendas Iun. Brundisium venturum arbitrabar. Qui cum venerit, quae primum navigandi nobis facultas data erit, utemur.

## IV

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

Brundisii, A.U.C. 703.

1 Pridie Nonas Iun. cum essem Brundisi, litteras tuas accepi, quibus erat scriptum, te L. Clodio man-

[a] Appius's *praefectus fabrum*, "engineer-in-chief."





association of our aims, to devote your care and assiduity to the doing of everything that one who is handing over a province can do to smooth the way for a successor intimately connected with him officially, and personally a very true friend; so that all the world may grasp the fact that neither could I have found a predecessor more kindly disposed, nor you a better friend to succeed you in the province.

That letter of which you sent me a copy, the letter 2
you wished to be read out in the Senate, had given me to understand that you had dismissed a large number of soldiers; but that same Fabius has explained, that though it had been your intention to do so, when he himself left you, your troops were at their full strength. If that is so, you will do me a great kindness if you reduce as little as possible the already inadequate forces at your disposal; and I expect the decrees of the Senate passed on this question have been forwarded to you. As for myself, in consideration of my high esteem for you, I shall approve whatever you do; but you too, I am sure, will do what you discover to be most to my advantage. I am expecting my legate C. Pomptinus at Brundisium, and I think he will arrive before June 1. When he arrives, I shall seize the very first opportunity of sailing that is offered me.

## IV

TO THE SAME

Brundisium, June 5, 51 B.C.

On June 4 being at Brundisium, I received your 1
letter telling me that you had instructed L. Clodius [a]

dasse, quae illum mecum loqui velles. Eum sane exspectabam, ut ea, quae a te afferret, quam primum cognoscerem. Meum studium erga te et officium tametsi multis iam rebus spero tibi esse cognitum, tamen in iis maxime declarabo, quibus plurimum significare potero, tuam mihi existimationem et dignitatem carissimam esse. Mihi et Q. Fabius Vergilianus et C. Flaccus, Luci filius, et diligentissime M. Octavius, Cnaei filius, demonstravit me a te plurimi fieri; quod egomet multis argumentis iam antea iudicaram, maximeque illo *Libro Augurali*, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum misisti.
2 Mea in te omnia summae[1] necessitudinis officia constabunt. Nam cum te ipsum, ex quo tempore tu me diligere coepisti, quotidie pluris feci, tum accesserunt etiam coniunctiones necessariorum tuorum. Duo enim duarum aetatum plurimi facio, Cn. Pompeium, filiae tuae socerum, et M. Brutum, generum tuum; collegique coniunctio, praesertim tam honorifice a te approbata, non mediocre vinculum mihi quidem attulisse videtur ad voluntates nostras copulandas. Sed et si Clodium convenero, ex illius sermone ad te scribam plura, et ipse operam dabo, te ut quam primum videam. Quod scribis tibi

[1] *R*: summa *rell.*

[a] Cn. Pompeius Magnus had two sons, Gnaeus and Sextus; the former married a daughter of Appius Claudius, the latter a daughter of Libo.

[b] Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, was the first wife of M. Brutus, who afterwards married Porcia, daughter of Cato Uticensis and widow of Bibulus.

[c] The College of Augurs.





as to the points you wished him to discuss with me. I am eagerly awaiting him, so that I may learn as soon as possible what message he is bringing from you.

My affection and anxiety to serve you, you have already, I trust, discovered from much that has occurred; I shall, however, make it clearer than ever by such acts as will enable me to give the most ample proof that your reputation and prestige are most precious to me. Q. Fabius Vergilianus and C. Flaccus, son of Lucius, and, more strongly than any, M. Octavius, son of Gnaeus, have convinced me that you think very highly of me, a fact which I had myself previously inferred from many clear proofs, but most of all from that book on Augural Law which you sent me with its very affectionate dedication, and a most charming gift it was.

Speaking for myself, all the services due to you by 2
virtue of our very close official relationship, will be consistently performed. For not only has my esteem for you increased daily from the time you began to show a special regard for me, but there has also been added my close intimacy with your relatives—for two of whom, of different ages, I have the highest esteem, Cn. Pompeius,[a] the father-in-law of your daughter, and M. Brutus,[b] your son-in-law—and the fact of our being members of the same College,[c] especially as you have expressed your approval of it in such highly complimentary terms, has, I think, contributed no slight bond towards the linking together of our aims and purposes. But if I meet Clodius, when I have heard what he has to say, I will write to you at greater length, and spare no effort myself to see you as soon as possible. You

manendi causam eam fuisse, ut me convenires, id mihi, ne mentiar, est gratum.

## V

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

Trallibus, A.U.C. 703.

1 Tralles veni a. d. VI. Kalend. Sextiles. Ibi mihi praesto fuit L. Lucilius cum litteris mandatisque tuis : quo quidem homine neminem potuisti nec mihi amiciorem, nec (ut arbitror) ad ea cognoscenda, quae scire volebam, aptiorem prudentioremve mittere. Ego autem et tuas litteras legi libenter et audivi Lucilium diligenter. Nunc, quoniam et tu ita sentis (scribis enim, quae de nostris officiis ego ad te scripserim, etsi tibi iucunda fuerint, tamen, quoniam ex alto repetita sint, non necessaria te putasse) ; et re vera, confirmata amicitia et perspecta fide, commemoratio officiorum supervacanea est ; eam partem orationis praetermittam ; tibi tamen agam, ut debeo, gratias. Animadverti enim et didici ex tuis litteris, te omnibus in rebus habuisse rationem, ut mihi consuleres praestitueresque et praeparares quodammodo omnia, quo mea ratio facilior et solutior esse posset.

2 Hoc tuum officium cum mihi gratissimum esse dicam,

[a] An important city in Lydia.





write that your reason for staying in the province was that you might meet me ; well, to speak frankly, that is a real pleasure to me.

## V

TO THE SAME

Tralles,[a] July 27, 51 B.C.

I came to Tralles on July 27. Awaiting me there with your letter and messages was L. Lucilius, a man than whom you could have sent nobody in the world either more friendly to myself, or, as I think, better suited to find out what I wanted to know, or more shrewd. Well, I read your letter with pleasure and listened to Lucilius with all due attention. For the present, for two reasons, firstly, because it is your own opinion too (for you write that you have come to the conclusion that what I wrote to you about our mutual good services, agreeable as it was to you, was nevertheless, since the record went so far back, quite unnecessary), and secondly, because as a matter of fact, when friendship has been established and loyalty tested, the recital of good services is superfluous ; for those two reasons then I will omit that part of my address, but I will express my gratitude to you all the same, as I am bound to do. For I have noticed and ascertained from your correspondence that you have made it a principle in every respect to consult my interests, and by some means or other to make every arrangement and preparation which would enable me to carry out my " plan of campaign" with greater ease and freedom. 1

When I say that this civility of yours is most gratify- 2

sequitur illud, ut te existimare velim, mihi magnae curae fore atque esse iam, primum ut ipse tu tuique omnes, deinde ut etiam reliqui scire possint, me tibi esse amicissimum. Quod quibus adhuc non satis est perspectum, ii mihi nolle magis, nos hoc animo esse, quam non intellegere videntur. Sed profecto intellegent; neque enim obscuris personis nec parvis in causis res agetur. Sed haec fieri melius quam
3 dici aut scribi volo. Quod itinerum meorum ratio te nonnullam in dubitationem videtur adducere, visurusne me sis in provincia; ea res sic se habet. Brundisi cum loquerer cum Phania, liberto tuo, veni in eum sermonem, ut dicerem, libenter me ad eam partem provinciae primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer. Tunc mihi ille dixit, quod classe tu velles decedere, per fore accommodatum tibi, si ad Sidam, maritimam partem provinciae, navibus accessissem. Dixi me esse facturum; itaque fecissem, nisi mihi L. Clodius noster Corcyrae dixisset, minime id esse faciendum; te Laodiceae fore ad meum adventum. Erat id mihi multo brevius multoque commodius, cum praesertim te
4 ita malle arbitrarer. Tua ratio postea est commutata. Nunc, quid fieri possit, tu facillime statues.

[a] A city of Pamphylia, on the coast, W. of the river Melas.





ing to me, it naturally follows that I should like you to think that it will be, and already is, an urgent charge upon me to see to it that, in the first place you and all your people, and secondly the rest of the world also, may be able to recognize that I am most friendly disposed towards you; and it seems to me that those who are still not fully convinced of it, do not so much fail to understand the fact as object to our being on such friendly terms. But understand it they assuredly will: for neither will the characters be insignificant, nor the motives mean in the drama that is to be enacted. But I wish the performance of all this to be better than what I say or write.

My itinerary seems to have caused you consider- 3
able doubt as to whether you will see me in the province; well, this is how the matter stands. When I spoke with your freedman Phania at Brundisium, I came to a point in the conversation when I said that I would willingly come first to that part of the province to which I thought you were most anxious that I should come. Then he told me, that since you desired to quit the province on board a fleet, it would be extremely convenient to you if I put in to Sida,[a] a sea-board part of the province, with my ships. I said I would do so, and I should have done so, had not our friend L. Clodius told me at Corcyra that that was the very last thing I should do; that you would be at Laodicea to meet me on my arrival. That meant a much shorter journey and was much more convenient for me, especially as I thought you preferred it so.

After that your plans were completely altered. 4
As things now stand, it will be easiest for *you* to decide what can be done; what I propose to do

Ego tibi meum consilium exponam. Pridie Kal. Sextil. puto me Laodiceae fore; ibi perpaucos dies, dum pecunia accipitur, quae mihi ex publica permutatione debetur, commorabor. Deinde iter faciam ad exercitum, ut circiter Idus Sextil. putem me ad Iconium fore. Sed si quid nunc me fallit in scribendo (procul enim aberam ab re ipsa et a locis), simul ac progredi coepero, quam celerrime potero, et quam creberrimis litteris faciam, ut tibi nota sit omnis ratio dierum atque itinerum meorum. Oneris tibi imponere nec audeo quidquam nec debeo. Sed, quod tuo commodo fieri possit, utriusque nostrum magni interest, ut te videam ante quam decedas. Quam facultatem si quis casus eripuerit, mea tamen in te omnia officia constabunt, non secus ac si te vidissem. Tibi de nostris rebus nihil sum ante mandaturus per litteras, quam desperaro coram me tecum agere
5 posse. Quod te a Scaevola petiisse dicis, ut, dum tu abesses, ante adventum meum provinciae praeesset; eum ego Ephesi vidi, fuitque mecum familiariter triduum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum, nec ex eo quidquam audivi, quod sibi a te mandatum diceret. Ac sane vellem potuisset obsequi voluntati tuae; non enim arbitror noluisse.

[a] "Cicero would want to get the current coin of the province for the money given him for his domestic establishment (*vasarium*)." Tyrrell.
[b] Probably Appius's *legatus* or quaestor.





myself I will explain to you. On July 31, I think I shall be at Laodicea, where I shall stay for a very few days, while I receive some money due to me on the Treasury Bill of Exchange.[a] After that I shall make my way to the army, so that about August 13 I expect to be in the neighbourhood of Iconium. But if I make any mistake at the moment of writing (for I am far from what is now going on and the places I mention), as soon as I begin to advance, by as speedy and frequent communications as possible I shall ensure your being apprised of the whole programme of my dates and routes. As for laying any burden on your shoulders, I have not the courage, nor is it my duty, to do so. But so far as is possible without inconvenience to yourself, it is of great importance to each of us that I should see you before you leave. Even if any accident snatches the opportunity out of our grasp, still my every duty to you will be performed as punctiliously as if I had seen you. It is not my intention to send you any message by letter concerning my affairs until I have abandoned all hope of being able to confer with you in person.

You say that you requested Scaevola[b] to take command of the province in your absence until my arrival; 5
well, I saw him myself at Ephesus, and he was my intimate companion during the three days I stayed at Ephesus, and I got nothing out of him indicating that you had given him any commission at all. And I could have heartily wished that he had been able to comply with your desire; for I do not suppose he would have had any objection.

## VI

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

In itinere per Cappadociam, A.U.C. 703.

1 Cum meum factum cum tuo comparo, etsi non magis mihi faveo in nostra amicitia tuenda, quam tibi, tamen multo magis meo facto delector, quam tuo. Ego enim Brundisi quaesivi ex Phania, cuius mihi videbar et fidelitatem erga te perspexisse et nosse locum, quem apud te is teneret, quam in partem provinciae maxime putaret te velle ut in succedendo primum venirem. Cum ille mihi respondisset, nihil me tibi gratius facere posse, quam si ad Sidam navigassem, etsi minus dignitatis habebat ille adventus, et ad multas res mihi minus
2 erat aptus, tamen ita me dixi facturum. Idem ego cum L. Clodium Corcyrae convenissem, hominem ita tibi coniunctum, ut mihi, cum illo cum loquerer, tecum loqui viderer, dixi ei, me ita facturum esse, ut in eam partem, quam Phania rogasset, primum venirem. Tunc ille, mihi cum gratias egisset, magno opere a me petivit, ut Laodiceam protinus irem; te in prima provincia velle esse, ut quam primum decederes; quin, nisi ego successor essem, quem tu cuperes videre, te antea, quam tibi successum esset, decessurum fuisse; quod quidem erat consentaneum

[a] Or "on the extreme (westerly) edge of the province." Tyrrell.





## VI

TO THE SAME

Near Iconium, August 29, 51 B.C.

When I compare your action with mine, though I claim no more credit than I give you in the matter of maintaining our friendship, still I find far more satisfaction in my own action than in yours. At Brundisium I inquired of Phania (whose fidelity to yourself I imagined I had thoroughly understood, as I also imagined I knew the place he held in your regard) into what part of the province he supposed you were most anxious that I should come first as your successor. He answered that I could do nothing more agreeable to you than make Sida the end of my voyage; now although to arrive there involved a loss of dignity, and was in many respects less convenient for me, in spite of all that, I told him that I would do so. 1

Again when in Corcyra I met L. Clodius, a man so closely connected with you that when I conversed with him it seemed to me that I was conversing with you, I told him that I would make arrangements so as to come first to that part of the province which Phania had specified in his request. And then Clodius, when he had thanked me, earnestly begged of me to go straight on to Laodicea, saying that you wished to be in the part of the province I could most quickly reach,[a] that you might depart most quickly. Indeed, had I not been such a successor as you particularly wished to meet, that you would have left before your successor had been appointed; and this certainly tallied with the letter I had 2

cum iis litteris, quas ego Romae acceperam; ex quibus perspexisse mihi videbar, quam festinares decedere. Respondi Clodio, me ita esse facturum, ac multo quidem libentius, quam si illud esset faciendum, quod promiseram Phaniae. Itaque et consilium mutavi, et ad te statim mea manu scriptas litteras misi, quas quidem ex tuis litteris intellexi
3 satis mature ad te esse perlatas. Hoc ego meo facto valde delector. Nihil enim potuit fieri amantius. Considera nunc vicissim tuum. Non modo ibi non fuisti, ubi me quam primum videre posses, sed eo discessisti, quo ego te ne persequi quidem possem triginta diebus, qui tibi ad decedendum lege (ut opinor) Cornelia constituti essent, ut tuum factum iis, qui, quo animo inter nos simus, ignorent, alieni hominis (ut lenissime dicam) et fugientis congressum, meum vero coniunctissimi et amicissimi esse vi-
4 deatur. Ac mihi tamen ante, quam in provinciam venirem, redditae sunt a te litterae, quibus etsi te Tarsum proficisci demonstrabas, tamen mihi non dubiam spem mei conveniendi afferebas; cum interea, credo equidem, malevoli homines (late enim patet hoc vitium),[1] sed tamen probabilem materiam nacti sermonis, ignari meae constantiae, conabantur alienare a te voluntatem meam; qui te forum Tarsi

[1] *Following Schütz, Graevius, and Manutius, I have omitted* et est in multis *as being a gloss, though the words are found in M and G.*

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[a] Sulla's law, *Lex Cornelia de provinciis ordinandis*, one of the provisions of which was that the retiring provincial governor must leave the province within thirty days after the arrival of the new governor.





received at Rome, which, as I thought, gave me a very clear idea of the hurry you were in to get away. My answer to Clodius was that I would do so, and, indeed, much more willingly than if I had been obliged to fulfil my promise to Phania. And so I changed my plan and immediately sent you a letter written with my own hand; and I gather from your letter that mine was delivered to you in plenty of time.

This is that action of mine with which I am so 3
thoroughly satisfied; no action could have been more friendly. Now it is your turn to reflect upon your own. Not only were you not at the place where you could have had the earliest opportunity of seeing me, but you went off to where I could not even catch you up within the thirty days which were fixed, I think, by the Cornelian law[a] as the limit of your stay in the province; with the result that your conduct appears to those who know nothing of our mutual feelings to be that of a stranger, to use the mildest possible term, and of one who wanted to run away from an interview, while mine on the other hand appears to be that of one closely attached to you and the best of friends.

And yet even before I came to the province, a 4
letter from you was handed to me, in which, although you clearly indicated that you were setting out for Tarsus, you still gave me no uncertain hope that you would meet me; while in the meantime, I imagine, evil-minded persons,—for it is a widespread vice—who had yet got hold of some plausible grounds for their gossip, knowing nothing of my staunchness as a friend, were trying to alienate my goodwill from you by alleging that you were holding an assize at Tarsus,

agere, statuere multa, decernere, iudicare dicerent, cum posses iam suspicari, tibi esse successum; quae ne ab iis quidem fieri solerent, qui brevi tempore sibi succedi putarent. Horum ego sermone non movebar; quin etiam (credas mihi velim), si quid tu ageres, levari me putabam molestia; et ex annua provincia, quae mihi longa videretur, prope iam undecim mensium provinciam factam esse gaudebam, si absenti mihi unius mensis labor detractus esset. Illud (vere dicam) me movet, in tanta militum paucitate abesse tres cohortes, quae sint plenissimae, nec me scire, ubi sint. Molestissime autem fero, quod, te ubi visurus sim, nescio; eoque ad te tardius scripsi, quod quotidie te ipsum exspectabam; cum interea ne litteras quidem ullas accepi, quae me docerent, quid ageres, aut ubi te visurus essem. Itaque virum fortem mihique in primis probatum, D. Antonium, praefectum evocatorum, misi ad te, cui, si tibi videretur, cohortes traderes; ut, dum tempus anni esset idoneum, aliquid negoti gerere possem. In quo, tuo consilio ut me sperarem esse usurum, et amicitia nostra et litterae tuae fecerant, quod ne nunc quidem despero. Sed plane, quando aut ubi

[a] *Evocati* were men who had served their time in the army "called out" again for service.





making various enactments, deciding actions, delivering judgements, though you might already have guessed that you had been superseded; doing things that were not usually done, they said, even by those who thought that they were being succeeded at an early date.

Now the talk of these people disturbed me not at all; nay more than that (I hope you will believe me) I considered that if *you* were busying yourself officially, I was being relieved of some irksome toil, and *I* rejoiced that a year's government of the province, a long time as it appeared to me, had now been reduced to a government of hardly more than eleven months, if one month's work had been taken off my shoulders before I arrived. One thing, to tell you the truth, does disturb me—that, our forces being so weak to start with, three cohorts, and those at their fullest strength, are absent, and that I do not know where they are. What annoys me most of all, however, is, that I do not know where I shall see you; and I was the less prompt in writing to you, because I have been daily expecting to see you in person; and meanwhile I have not received so much as a letter from you to inform me what you were doing or where I was likely to see you; so I have sent you D. Antonius, the commander of the veterans,[a] a gallant officer of whom I have reason to think very highly, so that, if it be your pleasure, you may hand the cohorts over to him, in order that I may be able to achieve something appreciable while the season of the year is still in my favour. And in that regard both our friendship and your letter have led me to hope that I shall have the benefit of your counsel, and I do not despair of it even now. But really

te visurus sim, nisi ad me scripseris, ne suspicari
6 quidem possum. Ego, ut me tibi amicissimum esse et aequi et iniqui intellegant, curabo. De tuo in me animo iniquis secus existimandi videris nonnihil loci dedisse. Id si correxeris, mihi valde gratum erit. Et, ut habere rationem possis, quo loco me salva lege Cornelia convenias, ego in provinciam veni pridie Kal. Sext.; iter in Ciliciam facio per Cappadociam; castra movi ab Iconio pridie Kalendas Sept. Nunc tu et ex diebus, et ex ratione itineris, si putabis me esse conveniendum, constitues, quo loco id commodissime fieri possit, et quo die.

## VII

### M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Pluribus verbis ad te scribam, cum plus otii nactus ero. Haec scripsi subito, cum Bruti pueri Laodiceae me convenissent et se Romam properare dixissent. Itaque nullas iis, praeterquam ad te et ad Brutum,
2 dedi litteras. Legati Appiani mihi volumen a te plenum querelae iniquissimae reddiderunt, quod

[a] See note *a* on page 184.
[b] A town in Phrygia.





unless you write and tell me, it is impossible for me to have even the slightest idea when or where I shall see you.

For my part, I shall take care to make our friends 6
and foes alike understand that I am most friendly disposed towards you. Of your feelings towards me you appear to have given our foes no slight grounds for thinking otherwise; it will be a great pleasure to me if you succeed in correcting that impression. And —to enable you to calculate at what spot you may meet me, and still observe the Cornelian law[a]—I arrived in the province on July 31; I am making my way into Cilicia through Cappadocia; I move my camp from Iconium on August 29. And now with these dates and this plan of my route to guide you, if you still think it incumbent upon you to meet me, it is for you to decide at what place you can most conveniently do so, and on what day.

## VII

### TO THE SAME

Laodicea, February 50 B.C.

I will write to you more fully when I manage to 1
get more leisure. I have written these words in a hurry, when Brutus's serving-men met me at Laodicea and told me that they were hastening to Rome, and so I gave them no letters except for you and for Brutus.

A deputation from Appia[b] have delivered to me 2
a roll from you full of the most unfair complaints,

eorum aedificationem litteris meis impedissem. Eadem autem epistula petebas, ut eos quam primum, ne in hiemem inciderent, ad facultatem aedificandi liberarem; et simul peracute querebare, quod eos tributa exigere vetarem prius, quam ego re cognita permisissem; genus enim quoddam fuisse impediendi, cum ego cognoscere non possem, nisi cum ad hiemem
3 me ex Cilicia recepissem. Ad omnia accipe et cognosce aequitatem expostulationis tuae. Primum, cum ad me aditum esset ab iis, qui dicerent a se intolerabilia tributa exigi, quid habuit iniquitatis me scribere, ne facerent ante, quam ego rem causamque cognossem? Non poteram, credo, ante hiemem; sic enim scribis. Quasi vero ad cognoscendum ego ad illos, non illi ad me venire debuerint. Tam longe? inquis. Quid? cum dabas iis litteras, per quas mecum agebas, ne eos impedirem, quo minus ante hiemem aedificarent, non eos ad me venturos arbitrabare? Tametsi id quidem fecerunt ridicule. Quas enim litteras afferebant, ut opus aestate facere possent, eas mihi post brumam reddiderunt. Sed scito, et multo plures esse, qui de tributis recusent, quam qui exigi velint; et me tamen, quod te velle existimem,

[a] A local tax or rate to defray the cost of buildings.
[b] *i.e.*, the builders.





because, as you say, I hindered their building operations by the letter I wrote. In the same despatch also you request me to release them from my objection and enable them to go on building as soon as possible, so that they may not find winter suddenly upon them; and at the same time you complain with much bitterness that I forbade them to exact a tax[a] before I had investigated the matter and given them leave to do so, which you said practically meant putting a stop to their building, since I could only make the investigation after I returned from Cilicia for the winter.

On all these counts, listen to my reply and recog- 3
nize the *fairness* of your remonstrance. In the first place, when I had been approached by men who declared that they were the victims of intolerable exactions, what unfairness was there in my writing that they[b] should hold their hands until I had investigated the affair and what led up to it? Do you really suppose that I could do nothing before winter? for that is what you write. Really! as though I had to come to them, and not they to me, to hold an investigation. "All that distance?" you say. What? when you gave them the letter in which you pleaded with me not to hinder their building before winter, were you then under the impression that they would not come to me? Anyhow what they did was ludicrous; the letter they brought me, asking that it might be possible for them to do the work in the summer, that letter they did not put into my hands till after midwinter. But let me tell you firstly, those who object to pay the tax are far more numerous than those who press for its exaction, and secondly, that in spite of that I am going to do what, I take it,

4 esse facturum. De Appianis hactenus. A Pausania, Lentuli liberto, accenso meo, audivi, cum diceret te secum esse questum, quod tibi obviam non prodissem. Scilicet contempsi te, nec potest fieri me quidquam superbius! Cum puer tuus ad me secunda fere vigilia venisset, isque te ante lucem Iconium mihi venturum nuntiasset, incertum[que], utra via, cum essent duae, altera Varronem, tuum familiarissimum, altera Q. Leptam, praefectum fabrum meum, tibi obviam misi; mandavi utrique eorum, ut a te[1] ad me excurrerent, ut tibi obviam prodire possem. Currens Lepta venit mihique nuntiavit te iam castra praetergressum esse. Confestim Iconium veni. Cetera iam tibi nota sunt. An ego tibi obviam non prodirem? primum Appio Claudio? deinde imperatori? deinde more maiorum? deinde, quod caput est, amico? praesertim cum in isto genere multo etiam ambitiosius facere soleam, quam honos meus et

5 dignitas postulat. Sed haec hactenus. Illud idem Pausanias dicebat te dixisse: Quidni? Appius Lentulo, Lentulus Ampio processit obviam, Cicero Appio noluit? Quaeso, etiamne tu has ineptias, homo (mea sententia) summa prudentia, multa etiam doctrina, plurimo rerum usu, addo urbanitatem, quae

[1] *Mendelssohn*: ante ad me *MR*.

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[a] The *accensi* were special attendants, mostly employed as court criers or marshals by magistrates who had the *imperium*.

[b] Between nine and twelve at night.

[c] Lentulus succeeded Ampius in part of the province of Cilicia.





you wish me to do. So no more about the Appian deputation.

I was told in so many words by Lentulus's freedman, Pausanias, my own beadle,[a] that you complained in conversing with him that I had not gone to meet you. O yes, of course I treated you with contempt, and my arrogance is inconceivable! Well, when your serving-man came to me about the second watch,[b] and reported that you would arrive at Iconium before dawn, and that it was not certain by which road (for there were two), I sent Varro, your most intimate friend, by one road, and Q. Lepta, the commander of my engineers by the other, to meet you, and I instructed each of them to post away from you to me so as to give me time to come and meet you. Lepta came running to me, and reported that you had already passed the Camp. I hastened to Iconium. The rest you already know. Could *I* have possibly failed to meet *you*, firstly an Appius Claudius, secondly an *imperator*? Then, since it is an ancient custom, then (and this is the main thing) because you were my friend? And that too when in affairs of this kind it is my habit to act with a courtesy far more punctilious than is demanded by my public status and dignity. But no more of this. 4

Pausanias also kept telling me that you said: "Why, of course! An Appius went to meet a Lentulus, and a Lentulus an Ampius[c]: but a Cicero—no, *he* would not go to meet an Appius!" Now, I ask you, talking of these sillinesses, do you of all people—a man, in my estimation, of sound common-sense, of great erudition too. and of wide experience in affairs—I recall your urbanity also, which the 5

est virtus, ut Stoici rectissime putant, ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus, quam ornamenta virtutis, existimas? Cum ea consecutus nondum eram, quae sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista vestra nomina numquam sum admiratus; viros eos, qui ea vobis reliquissent, magnos arbitrabar. Postea vero, quam ita et cepi et gessi maxima imperia, ut mihi nihil neque ad honorem neque ad gloriam deesse putarem, superiorem quidem numquam, sed parem vobis me speravi esse factum. Nec, mehercule, aliter vidi existimare vel Cn. Pompeium, quem omnibus, qui umquam fuerunt, vel P. Lentulum, quem mihi ipsi antepono. Tu si aliter existimas, nihil errabis, si paullo diligentius (ut, quid sit *εὐγένεια*, quid *ἐξοχή*, intellegas), Athenodorus, Sandonis filius, quid de his rebus dicat,
6 attenderis. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, me tibi non amicum modo, verum etiam amicissimum existimes velim. Profecto omnibus meis officiis efficiam, ut ita esse vere possis iudicare. Tu autem si id agis, ut minus mea causa, dum ego absim, debere videaris, quam ego tua laborarim, libero te ista cura.

*παρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι,*
*οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.*

Si autem natura es *φιλαίτιος*, illud non perficies, quo

[a] A Stoic professor, born near Tarsus, who became the tutor of Augustus.
[b] Hom. *Il.* i. 174.
[c] *φιλαίτιος* = lit. "fond of finding fault."





Stoics are right in regarding as a virtue—do you, I ask, suppose that any Appiism or Lentulism in the world weighs more with me than the distinctions conferred by virtue? Why, even before I had attained the honours which are most magnificent in the eyes of men, yet those names of yours never excited my admiration; no, it was the men who had bequeathed them to you that I thought great. But later, when I had so accepted and administered the highest offices of the empire as to feel that I had obtained all I desired in the way of both promotion and glory, I hoped that I had become, never, indeed, your superior, but, at any rate, your peer. And I declare that I never observed that any different opinion was held either by Cn. Pompey, whom I consider a better man than any who has ever existed, or by Lentulus, whom I consider a better man than myself. If you think otherwise, you will not go wrong if in order to appreciate the difference between nobility of birth, and nobility of worth, you were to study with a little more attention what is said on this subject by Athenodorus,[a] the son of Sandon.

But to return to my point, I should like you to 6
believe that I am not only your friend, but a very great friend of yours. I shall assuredly succeed by the performance of every service in my power in enabling you to realize the truth of what I say. If it is your object, however, to make it appear that you are less bound to further my interests in my absence than I strove to further yours, I release you from that anxiety:

Others are by my side
To honour me, and most of all, wise Zeus,[b]

But if you are a born *frondeur*,[c] while you will not

minus tua causa velim; hoc assequere, ut, quam in partem tu accipias, minus laborem. Haec ad te scripsi liberius, fretus conscientia offici mei benevolentiaeque, quam a me certo iudicio susceptam, quoad tu voles, conservabo.

## VIII

M. T. C. PROCOS. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO IMP.

In castris ad Mopsuhestiam, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi, quantum ex tuis litteris intellegere potui, videbam, te hanc epistolam, cum ad Urbem esses, esse lecturum, refrigerato iam levissimo sermone hominum provincialium, tamen, cum tu tam multis verbis ad me de improborum oratione scripsisses, faciendum mihi putavi, ut tuis litteris brevi re-
2 sponderem. Sed prima duo capita epistulae tuae tacita mihi quodammodo relinquenda sunt. Nihil enim habent, quod aut definitum sit aut certum, nisi me vultu taciturnitate significasse, tibi non esse amicum; idque pro tribunali, cum aliquid ageretur, et nonnullis in conviviis intellegi potuisse. Hoc totum nihil esse, possum intellegere; sed cum sit

[a] Μόψου ἑστία, "the Hearth of Mopsus," founded by an Argive priest and king of that name, was an important town of Cilicia Campestris, on both banks of the river Pyramus. It should be noticed that this letter was written nearly six months *before* the preceding letter,—such is their chronological chaos.

[b] "A technical expression for generals, who, after they had obtained the *imperium*, waited outside the city, either prior to their departure, in order to make all necessary preparations, or on their return, if endeavouring to obtain a





succeed in diminishing my zeal on your behalf, there is one thing in which you will not fail—in making me less concerned as to how you interpret my actions. I write thus to you more frankly than usual, relying on the consciousness of my services and goodwill; and that goodwill, based on deliberate conviction, I shall maintain undiminished so long as it is your pleasure that I should do so.

## VIII

TO THE SAME (AT ROME)

In camp near Mopsuhestia,[a] October 8, 51 B.C.

Although, as far as I could understand from your letter, it seems that you will be at the gates of Rome[b] when you read this letter of mine, and the utterly frivolous gossip of provincials has become flat and stale, nevertheless, seeing that you wrote to me at such length about the talk of unscrupulous men, I felt bound to make a brief reply to your letter. 1

But the first two paragraphs of it I am obliged in 2
a way to pass over in silence; for there is nothing in them that is either definite or positive, unless it be that I had indicated by my looks and by my silence that you were no friend of mine, and that this might have been perceived both on the bench, when some business was being transacted, and at certain social gatherings. That all this amounts to nothing at all, I can understand, but though it is nothing,

triumph. No magistrate could enter the city without forfeiting his *imperium*, unless by a special decree." Tyrrell.

nihil, ne quid dicatur quidem, intellego. Illud quidem scio, meos multos et illustres et ex superiore et ex aequo loco sermones habitos cum tua summa laude et cum magna sollicitudine significationis nostrae familiaritatis ad te vere potuisse deferri. Nam, quod ad legatos attinet, quid a me fieri potuit aut elegantius aut iustius, quam ut sumptus egentissimarum civitatum minuerem, sine ulla imminutione dignitatis tuae, praesertim ipsis civitatibus postulantibus? Nam mihi totum genus legationum tuo nomine proficiscentium notum non erat. Apameae cum essem, multarum civitatum principes ad me detulerunt, sumptus decerni legatis nimis magnos,
3 cum solvendo civitates non essent. Hic ego multa simul cogitavi. Primum te, hominem non solum sapientem, verum etiam (ut nunc loquimur) urbanum, non arbitrabar genere isto legationum delectari; idque me arbitror Synnadis pro tribunali multis verbis disputavisse,—primum, Appium Claudium senatui populoque Romano, non Midaeensium testimonio (in ea enim civitate mentio facta est), sed sua sponte, esse laudatum; deinde me ista vidisse accidere multis, ut eorum causa legationes Romam venirent, sed his legationibus non meminisse ullum tempus

[a] It was customary in the provinces to send legates to Rome to commend (*laudare*) an ex-governor, and press his claims to a triumph. The expense was borne by the provincial states, and the practice became an intolerable burden upon them. This was now the case with the Cilicians, who, though willing to send legates to Rome to "commend Appius," found the cost too great, and complained to Cicero. He ordered that any such legates should pay their own expenses, and that the towns should not be taxed for the purpose. To this order Appius naturally objected.

[b] "By his own personality." Tyrrell. "But in the natural course of things." Shuckburgh.





I fail to understand even what the statement in question is. Of this I am sure, that many distinctly laudatory speeches of mine have been delivered both on and off the bench, which were highly complimentary to you, and showed my great anxiety to demonstrate our intimacy, and that those speeches might well have been correctly reported to you. As far as the legates[a] are concerned, what could have been in better taste or more equitable than my action in reducing the expenses of the most impecunious states, and that without in any way impairing your dignity, especially when it was done at the urgent request of the states themselves? For I was not aware at the time of the general scale of the deputations which were going to Rome on your account. When I was at Apamea, the leading men of many states reported to me that the amount of money decreed for the expenses was excessive, and that although the states were insolvent.

Upon that, many thoughts suggested themselves 3
to me at once. In the first place, I never supposed that you, a man not only of common-sense, but also (to use the modern phrase) of "culture," derived any pleasure from that sort of deputation; and, if I mistake not, I argued at some length to that effect when on the bench at Synnada, pointing out firstly, that Appius Claudius had won credit in the eyes of the Senate and Roman people not on the strength of the testimony of the inhabitants of Midaeum (that was the state in which the matter was mentioned), but by doing what his nature prompted him to do;[b] in the next place, that this is what I had seen happening to many ex-governors—deputations had come to Rome on their behalf, but I had no recollection of

laudandi aut locum dari; studia mihi eorum placere, quod in te bene merito grati essent; consilium totum videri minime necessarium. Si autem vellent declarare in eo officium suum, laudaturum me, si qui suo sumptu functus esset officio, concessurum, si legitimo, non permissurum, si infinito. Quid enim reprehendi potest, nisi quod addis, visum esse quibusdam edictum meum quasi consulto ad istas legationes impediendas esse accommodatum? Iam non tam mihi videntur iniuriam facere, si qui haec disputant, quam si cuius aures ad hanc disputationem
4 patent. Romae composui edictum: nihil addidi, nisi quod publicani me rogarunt, cum Samum ad me venissent, ut de tuo edicto totidem verbis transferrem in meum. Diligentissime scriptum caput est, quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum; quo in capite sunt quaedam nova salutaria civitatibus, quibus ego magno opere delector. Hoc vero, ex quo suspicio nata est, me exquisisse aliquid, in quo te offenderem, tralaticium est. Neque enim eram tam desipiens, ut privatae rei causa legari putarem, qui et tibi non privato, et pro re non privata





these deputations being allowed any special time or place to deliver their eulogy; that I was pleased with their eagerness to gratify you, because they were grateful to you for your good services, but it seemed to me that the whole principle of the thing was quite unjustified by necessity. However, I added, if they really wished to evince their sense of obligation to you by so doing, in that case if anybody should prove to have performed the function at his own expense, I should commend him; if the expense to the state were within the limits of the law, I should raise no objection; if it were unlimited, I should not allow it. Now what fault can be found with that? Unless it is what you add in your letter, that certain people have got the idea that my edict was, so to speak, deliberately framed for the purpose of obstructing those deputations of yours. Here, indeed, it appears to me that it is not so much those who argue in this way, that do me wrong, as the man who lends a willing ear to such arguments.

It was at Rome that I drew up the edict, and 4
I added nothing to it but a clause which the *publicani* when they visited me in Samos asked me to transfer, word for word, from your edict to my own. The paragraph was very carefully drawn up, and relates to the reduction of the expenses of the states, and in it are certain innovations to the advantage of the states which give me much satisfaction; but this particular clause, which gave birth to the suspicion that I had made diligent search for something to cause you offence, is simply a transcript from a previous edict. I really was not so lacking in common-sense, as to imagine that the legates were being sent on their own private affairs; they were

sua, sed publica, non privato, sed in publico orbis terrae consilio, id est in senatu, ut gratias agerent, mittebantur; neque, cum edixi, ne quis iniussu meo proficisceretur, exclusi eos, qui me in castra, et qui trans Taurum persequi non possent. Nam id est maxime in tuis litteris ridendum. Quid enim erat, quod me persequerentur in castra, Taurumve transirent, cum ego Laodicea usque ad Iconium iter ita fecerim, ut me omnium illarum dioecesium, quae cis Taurum sunt, omniumque earum civitatum magis-
5 tratus legationesque convenirent? Nisi forte postea coeperunt legare, quam ego Taurum transgressus sum; quod certe non ita est. Cum enim Laodiceae, cum Apameae, cum Synnadis, cum Philomelii, cum Iconii essem, quibus in oppidis omnibus commoratus sum, omnes iam istius generis legationes erant constitutae. Atque hoc tamen te scire volo, me de isto sumptu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nihil, nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent, ne in venditionem tributorum et illam acerbissimam exactionem (quam tu non ignoras) capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumptus minime necessarii. Ego autem cum hoc suscepissem, non solum iustitia, sed etiam misericordia adductus, ut

[a] What Cicero seems to mean is that, so far from wishing to inconvenience those who desired his "permit" by forcing a long journey upon them, he had made elaborate arrangements for meeting them at various places.

[b] The three "dioceses," Cibyra, Apamea, and Synnada, properly belonging to the province of Asia, but temporarily added to that of Cilicia. They were subsequently assigned to Asia.

[c] The letting of the *tributum* by the State to *publicani*, which occurred when the Cilicians, who normally collected their own taxes, fell into arrears; and the *publicani* were ever assiduous in their own interests.





being dispatched to express their gratitude to you, but not as a private person, and not in their own private interests, but in those of the state, and not in a private place, but in the council chamber of the world—the Senate: and when I made an edict that nobody should set out for Rome without my permission, I did not extend my prohibition to those who were unable (as they said) to follow me all the way to camp or across the Taurus.[a] That is the most ridiculous passage in your letter; for what reason had they for following me to camp or crossing the Taurus, when I arranged my journey from Laodicea right up to Iconium for the very purpose of enabling the magistrates and legates of all those assize districts[b] which lie this side of Taurus, and of all the
states there, to meet me? Unless you mean to say 5
that deputations did not begin to be sent until I had crossed the Taurus, and that is certainly not the case. For when I was at Laodicea, at Apamea, at Synnada, at Philomelium, and at Iconium (and I spent some time in each of those towns), all the deputations of that sort had already been constituted. And anyhow there is this also that I would have you know, that I made no decree respecting either the reduction or the repayment of the expenses of the deputations beyond what the leading men of the states demanded of me—that quite unnecessary expenses should not be piled upon the sale of the taxes[c] and that bitterly resented exaction (you know all about it) of the poll-tax and the door-tax. When, however, moved by a sense of justice and of compassion also, I had taken upon myself to relieve the

levarem miseriis perditas civitates et perditas maxime per magistratus suos, non potui in illo sumptu non necessario neglegens esse. Tu, si istiusmodi sermones ad te delati de me sunt, non debuisti credere. Si autem hoc genere delectaris, ut, quae tibi in mentem veniant, aliis attribuas, genus sermonis inducis in amicitiam minime liberale. Ego si in provincia detrahere de tua fama umquam cogitassem, non ad generum tuum, neque ad libertum tuum Brundisi, neque ad praefectum fabrum Corcyrae, quem in locum me venire velles, retulissem. Quare potes, doctissimis hominibus auctoribus, quorum sunt de amicitia gerenda praeclarissime scripti libri, genus hoc totum orationis tollere: "disputabant; ego
6 contra disserebam; dicebant; ego negabam." An mihi de te nihil esse dictum umquam putas? ne hoc quidem, quod, cum me Laodiceam venire voluisses, Taurum ipse transisti? quod iisdem diebus meus conventus erat Apameae, Synnadis, Philomeli, tuus Tarsi? Non dicam plura, ne, in quo te obiurgem, id ipsum videar imitari. Illud dicam, ut sentio; si ista, quae alios loqui dicis, ipse sentis, tua summa culpa est; sin autem alii tecum haec loquuntur, tua tamen,





miseries of ruined states, ruined mainly, too, through the action of their own magistrates, it was impossible that, in the matter of that unnecessary expenditure, I should show no concern. And on your side, if tales of that sort about me were reported to you, you ought not to have believed them. If, on the other hand, this is the sort of thing which gives you pleasure—attributing to others the ideas that occur to yourself—you are introducing into the conversation of friends an element by no means generous. Why, if I had ever intended to disparage your reputation in the province, I should not have consulted your son-in-law, nor your freedman at Brundisium, nor your commander of engineers at Corcyra, as to the place where you wished me to meet you.

And that being so, you may well rid your style of speech (and you will have the support of very learned men who have written brilliant treatises on the Practice of Friendship) of all this kind of thing—"they argued so and so," "I, on the contrary, maintained so and so," "they stated so and so," "I contradicted them."

Do you suppose that I have never been told any- 6
thing about you? Not even that, when you had expressed a wish that I should come to Laodicea, you yourself crossed the Taurus? That on the very days I was holding assizes at Apamea, Synnada, and Philomelium, you were holding them at Tarsus? I shall quote no more instances, lest I appear to imitate what I condemn in you. Thus much I will say, and I feel it; if you yourself feel what you declare that others are saying, you are seriously to blame; if on the other hand it is those others who say such things in your presence, you are still some-

quod audis, culpa nonnulla est. Mea ratio in tota amicitia nostra constans et gravis reperietur. Quod si qui me astutiorem fingit, quid potest esse callidius, quam, cum te absentem semper defenderim, cum praesertim mihi usu venturum non arbitrarer, ut ego quoque absens a te defendendus essem, nunc committere, ut tu iure optimo me absentem deserere
7 posses? Unum genus excipio sermonis, in quo persaepe aliquid dicitur, quod te putem nolle dici, si aut legatorum tuorum cuipiam, aut praefectorum aut tribunorum militum male dicitur; quod tamen ipsum non mehercule adhuc accidit me audiente, ut aut gravius diceretur, aut impurius,[1] quam mecum Corcyrae Clodius est locutus; cum in eo genere maxime quereretur, te aliorum improbitate minus felicem fuisse. Hos ego sermones, quod et multi sunt, et tuam existimationem, ut ego sentio, non offendunt, lacessivi numquam, sed non valde repressi. Si quis est, qui neminem bona fide in gratiam putet redire posse, non nostram is perfidiam coarguit, sed indicat suam; simulque non de me is peius quam de te existimat. Sin autem quem mea instituta in provincia non delectant, et quadam dissimilitudine institutorum meorum ac tuorum laedi

[1] in plures *codd.*





what to blame for listening to them. My behaviour in the whole course of our friendship will be found consistent and upright. But if anyone makes me out rather a trickster, what can be more artful than, although I have always defended you in your absence—and that too when I never imagined it would come to pass that I also should need your defence in my absence—that I should now make the mistake of putting it in your power to abandon me in my absence with full justification?

There is one kind of talk I omit from the above 7
category, that in which as very often happens, something is said which I am pretty sure you would resent being said; I mean if any of your legates, or prefects, or military tribunes is abused; I assure you, however, that so far it has never happened in my hearing that even such remarks amounted to anything more offensive or coarse[a] than that made to me by Clodius at Corcyra, when in that connexion he clamorously complained that your success would have been greater but for the unscrupulous conduct of others. Such remarks, both because they are so common, and because they do no harm, in my opinion, to your reputation, I have never provoked, but neither have I taken much trouble to check them. If anybody supposes that sincere reconciliation is an impossibility, he does not convict me of hypocrisy, but betrays his own; and at the same time he implies no worse an opinion of me than of you. But if anybody is displeased with my policy in the province, and fancies that he is being injuriously treated by a certain dissimilarity between my policy and yours,

[a] If *in plures* is read, "affecting a larger number of people."

se putat, cum uterque nostrum recte fecerit, sed non idem uterque secutus sit, hunc ego amicum habere
8 non curo. Liberalitas tua, ut hominis nobilissimi, latius in provincia patuit; nostra si angustior (etsi de tua prolixa beneficaque natura limavit aliquid posterior annus, propter quamdam tristitiam temporum), non debent mirari homines, cum et natura semper ad largiendum ex alieno fuerim restrictior, et temporibus, quibus alii moventur, iisdem ego movear:

med esse acerbum sibi, ut sim dulcis mihi.

9 De rebus urbanis quod me certiorem fecisti, cum per se mihi gratum fuit, tum quod significasti, tibi omnia mea mandata curae fore. In quibus unum illud te praecipue rogo, ut cures, ne quid mihi ad hoc negoti aut oneris accedat aut temporis, Hortensiumque, nostrum collegam et familiarem, roges, ut, si umquam mea causa quidquam aut sensit, aut fecit, de hac quoque sententia bima decedat; quia mihi
10 nihil potest esse inimicius. De nostris rebus quod scire vis, Tarso Nonis Octobr. Amanum versus profecti sumus. Haec scripsi postridie eius diei, cum castra haberem in agro Mopsuhestiae. Si quid egero, scribam ad te; neque domum umquam ad meos litteras mittam, quin adiungam eas, quas tibi reddi

[a] Lit. "though your second year of office filed something off your open-handed," etc.

[b] In other words "that I do my duty at the cost of my popularity to satisfy my own conscience." It is doubtless an iambic senarius, but hard to scan, unless we read *uti* for *ut*.





although both of us have acted conscientiously, but have not both followed the same line, that man I am not anxious to have for my friend.

Your liberality, characteristic of so great a nobleman, covered a wider field in the province; if mine 8
was more circumscribed (though your own open-handed and bountiful nature had to be somewhat modified in your second year of office,[a] owing to a certain unhappiness in the times), still, seeing that it has ever been my nature to fight shy of extravagance at the expense of others, and that the times have the same effect upon myself as upon others, men ought not to be surprised that

I give them gall to give my conscience honey.[b]

You have given me information about affairs in the 9
City; that was not only gratifying to me in itself, but also because it showed that all my messages to you would have your attention. Among them is one to which I beg of you to give particular attention—to see to it that no addition is made to my duties here, in the way of either responsibility or length of tenure of office; and also to ask Hortensius, my fellow-augur and intimate friend, if he has ever either voted or done anything in my favour, to abandon also this proposal of his that I should hold office for two years; for nothing could be more unkind to me.

You wish to know about my affairs; well, I left 10
Tarsus on October 7, and made for Amanus; I write this on the day following that on which I was encamped in the region of Mopsuhestia. If I succeed in doing anything, I shall write to you; and I shall never send a letter home to my people without adding one

velim. De Parthis quod quaeris, fuisse nullos puto. Arabes qui fuerunt, admixto Parthico ornatu, dicuntur omnes revertisse. Hostem esse in Syria negant ullum. Tu vellem ad me quam saepissime et de tuis rebus scribas et de meis et de omni reipublicae statu, de quo sum sollicitus eo magis quod ex tuis litteris cognovi Pompeium nostrum in Hispaniam iturum.

## IX

### M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 704.

1 Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Appio Clodio, plenas humanitatis, offici, diligentiae. Aspectus videlicet Urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit. Nam, quas ex itinere ante, quam ex Asia egressus esses, ad me litteras misisti, unas de legatis a me prohibitis proficisci, alteras de Appianorum aedificatione impedita, legi perinvitus. Itaque conscientia meae constantis erga te voluntatis rescripsi tibi subiratus. Iis vero litteris lectis, quas Philotimo liberto meo dedisti, cognovi intellexique in provincia multos fuisse, qui nos, quo animo inter nos sumus, esse nollent; ad Urbem vero ut accesseris, vel potius ut primum tuos videris, cognosse te ex iis, qua in te absentem fide, qua in omnibus officiis

[a] See iii. 7. 2, and 8. 2 ff.





which I should like to be put into your hands. You ask about the Parthians; I don't think there were any Parthians; Arabs there were, partially equipped as Parthians, but it is said that they have all returned. There is not a single enemy, they tell me, in Syria. I should be glad if you would write to me as frequently as possible about your own affairs and mine, and the whole political situation; and as to that, I am the more anxious because your letter informs me that our friend Pompey is going to Spain.

## IX

### TO THE SAME

Laodicea, 50 B.C.

At last, after all, I have read a letter worthy of Appius Claudius—a letter full of kindly feeling, courtesy, and consideration. Evidently the very sight of your urban surroundings has given you back your pristine urbanity. For the letters you sent me *en route* before you took ship from Asia, one about my vetoing the departure of the legates, the other about the stoppage of the building operations of the Appians,[a] I read with much pain. And so, conscious as I was of my unswerving goodwill towards you, I replied with a touch of temper. When, however, I read the letter you gave my freedman Philotimus, I recognized and understood that there were many in the province who were sorry that we entertain such feelings towards each other as we do; but when you approached the City, or rather as soon as you saw your friends, you discovered from them how loyal I had been to you in your absence, and how con- 1

tuendis erga te observantia et constantia fuissem.
Itaque quanti illud me aestimare putas, quod est in
tuis litteris scriptum, si quid inciderit, quod ad
meam dignitatem pertineat, etsi vix fieri possit,
tamen te parem mihi gratiam relaturum ? Tu vero
facile facies. Nihil est enim, quod studio et bene-
2 volentia, vel amore potius, effici non possit. Ego,
etsi et ipse ita iudicabam, et fiebam crebro a meis
per litteras certior, tamen maximam laetitiam cepi
ex tuis litteris de spe minime dubia et plane ex-
plorata triumphi tui ; neque vero ob eam causam,
quo ipse facilius consequerer, nam id quidem
ἐπικούρειον est ; sed, mehercule, quod tua dignitas
atque amplitudo mihi est ipsa cara per se. Quare
quoniam plures tu habes, quam ceteri, quos scias in
hanc provinciam proficisci, quod te adeunt fere omnes,
si quid velis, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me,
simul atque adeptus eris, quod et tu confidis et ego
opto, litteras miseris. Longi subselli (ut noster
Pompeius appellat) iudicatio et mora si quem tibi item
unum alterumve diem abstulerit (quid enim potest
amplius ?), tua tamen dignitas suum locum obtine-
bit. Sed, si me diligis, si a me diligi vis, ad me litteras,
3 ut quam primum laetitia afficiar, mittito. Et velim,
reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris tui, mihi

[a] The Epicureans held the theory that friendship was based on expediency.

[b] Probably the bench on which the tribunes sat, or it may be the opposition who favoured Caesar. It might also mean "the bench of tedious interruptions," "the long-winded bench." Tyrrell.





sistently regardful of you in the observance of every
duty. So you may imagine how greatly I value those
words in your letter, " If anything occurs that touches
your dignity, although that can hardly happen, still,
if it does, I shall do as much for you as you did
for me." I am sure you will have no difficulty in
doing so ; for there is nothing that cannot be accom-
plished by cordiality and goodwill, or shall I rather
say, affection.

As for myself, though it had always been my own 2
conviction, and I was frequently so informed in my
friends' letters, I was none the less highly delighted
with what you say in your letter about your having
a hope by no means doubtful, indeed quite certain,
of obtaining a triumph ; not, indeed, for the reason
that it would make it easier for me to obtain one
myself ; that is utilitarian philosophy ;[a] but honestly
because your position and eminence are precious to
me on their own account. For that reason, since you
have more acquaintances than anybody else, whom
you know to be setting out for this province—for
practically all of them approach you to ask if you
have any commission for them—you would do me a
great kindness by sending me a line as soon as you
have secured what you are confident of obtaining,
and I sincerely hope you may. If the judicial dis-
cussions and obstructionism of the Long Bench,[b] as
our friend Pompey calls them, rob you and others of
a day or two, for that is all they can do, your claims
will none the less hold their ground. But if you love
me, and would have me love you, do send me a letter,
so that I may taste the joy of it at the earliest
possible opportunity.

I should also be glad if you would pay off the 3

persolvas. Cum ipsam cognitionem iuris augurii consequi cupio, tum mehercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector. Quod autem a me tale quiddam desideras, sane mihi considerandum est, quonam te remunerer potissimum genere; nam profecto non est meum, qui in scribendo (ut soles admirari) tantum industriae ponam, committere, ut in scribendo neglegens fuisse videar, praesertim cum id non modo neglegentis, sed etiam
4 ingrati animi crimen futurum sit. Verum haec videbimus. Illud, quod polliceris, velim pro tua fide diligentiaque et pro nostra, non instituta, sed iam inveterata amicitia cures, enitare, ut supplicatio nobis quam honorificentissime quamprimumque decernatur. Omnino serius misi litteras, quam vellem; in quo cum difficultas navigandi fuit odiosa, tum in ipsum discessum senatus incidisse credo litteras meas. Sed id feci adductus auctoritate et consilio tuo; idque a me recte factum puto, quod non statim, ut appellatus imperator sim, sed aliis rebus additis aestivisque confectis litteras miserim. Haec igitur tibi erunt curae, quemadmodum ostendis, meque totum et mea et meos commendatos habebis.

[a] For Appius had already dedicated his treatise on Augural Law to Cicero. *Cf.* iii. 4. 1.

[b] This was in April, when the Senate used often to rise owing to the numerous festivals in that month.





arrears of what you promised and have already given me. Not only am I anxious to perfect myself in the study of augural law for its own sake, but you cannot think how delighted I am with your kind attentions and gifts. But you say you long to have something of the same sort from me; well, I must really consider by what style of composition I may best requite your kindness; for it would certainly be unlike me, who, to your frequent surprise, put such a lot of hard work into my writing, to make the mistake of letting you think that I had been slovenly in my writing, especially when I should probably be accused not only of slovenliness but also of ingratitude.[a]
That, however, I will see to. As to your other 4
promise, I should be glad if in conformity with your loyalty and sincere consideration for me, and in the name of friendship that is of no recent date, but has stood the test of years, you would make it your care and spare no effort to secure my having a "thanksgiving" decreed me, and that in the most complimentary terms, and at as early a date as possible.

I have been later altogether in sending my dispatch than I could have wished; and in that not only was I plagued with difficulties in finding a ship, but I believe that the Senate was prorogued at the very time my dispatch arrived.[b] But it was at your instance and by your advice that I did so; and I think I acted aright in not sending my dispatch immediately upon my winning the title of *imperator*, but after the performance of other services and the completion of the summer campaign. You will, therefore, I am sure, attend to all this as you declare you will, and regard as commended to your care all there is of me, and all I have, and those belonging to me.

## X

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Cum est ad nos allatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facesserent, etsi graviter primo nuntio commotus sum, quod nihil tam praeter opinionem meam accidere potuit, tamen, ut me collegi, cetera mihi facillima videbantur, quod et in te ipso maximam spem, et in tuis magnam habebam multaque mihi veniebant in mentem, quamobrem istum laborem tibi etiam honori putarem fore. Illud plane moleste tuli, quod certissimum et iustissimum triumphum hoc invidorum consilio esse tibi ereptum videbam. Quod tu si tanti facies, quanti ego semper iudicavi faciendum esse, facies sapienter, et ages victor ex inimicorum dolore triumphum iustissimum. Ego enim plane video fore, nervis, opibus, sapientia tua, vehementer ut inimicos tuos poeniteat intemperantiae suae. De me tibi, contestans omnes deos, promitto atque con-

[a] This refers to the impeachment of Appius for *maiestas* by P. Cornelius Dolabella, now the son-in-law of Cicero, whose daughter Tullia he married after divorcing his wife Fabia in 51 B.C. He was one of the most profligate men of his time, and the cause of constant uneasiness to Cicero. At Pharsalia, and afterwards in Africa and Spain, he fought on the side of Caesar, who in 44 B.C. raised him, despite the opposition of Antony, to the consulship. On Caesar's death, however, he joined the republican party, but when Antony gave him the province of Syria he became a fierce anti-republican. On his way to Syria in 43 B.C. he plundered the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, and at Smyrna murdered Trebonius, proconsul of Asia. He was declared a public enemy and Cassius besieged him in Laodicea, where, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies, he ordered one of his own soldiers to kill him.





## X

TO THE SAME

Laodicea, early in May, 50 B.C.

When news was brought me of the reckless behaviour of those who were making trouble for you,[a] the first announcement of it seriously disturbed me, since nothing could have happened to cause me greater surprise; when I had pulled myself together, however, it seemed to me that the subsequent situation could be very easily dealt with, because I had absolute confidence in yourself, and a good deal in your friends, and many considerations occurred to me to justify my expectation that all this distress of yours would actually redound to your honour. What caused me profound annoyance, was that by this measure of theirs, those who are jealous of you, had robbed you, as I could see, of a very sure and well-deserved triumph. But if you attach no more importance to the matter than I have always been convinced should be attached to it, you will be acting wisely, and, with the victory on your side, will enjoy in the vexation of your enemies the most well-deserved of triumphs. For I clearly foresee, that you, with all your energy, resources, and wisdom, will make your enemies bitterly regret their foolhardiness. As regards myself, I call the gods of heaven to witness this my promise and assurance to you, that in the 1

firmo, me pro tua dignitate (malo enim sic dicere, quam pro salute) in hac provincia, cui tu praefuisti, rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis (ut spero) apud civitates, gravitate imperatoris suscepturum officia atque partes. Omnia volo a me et postules et exspectes; vincam meis
2 officiis cogitationes tuas. Q. Servilius perbreves mihi a te litteras reddidit, quae mihi tamen nimis longae visae sunt; iniuriam enim mihi fieri putabam, cum rogabar. Nollem accidisset tempus, in quo perspicere posses, quanti te, quanti Pompeium, quem unum ex omnibus facio, ut debeo, plurimi, quanti Brutum facerem (quamquam in consuetudine quotidiana perspexisses, sicut perspicies) sed, quoniam accidit, si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor.
3 Pomptinus, qui a te tractatus est praestanti ac singulari fide, cuius tui benefici sum ego testis, praestat tibi memoriam benevolentiamque, quam debet; qui, cum maximis rebus suis coactus a me invitissimo decessisset, tamen, ut vidit interesse tua, conscendens iam navem, Epheso Laodiceam revertit. Talia te cum studia videam habiturum esse innumerabilia, plane dubitare non possum, quin tibi amplitudo ista sollicitudo futura sit. Si vero

[a] An agent of Appius Claudius.

[b] Propraetor in Transalpine Gaul in 62 B.C.; he obtained a triumph for his success against the Allobroges in 61 B.C. He was now Cicero's *legatus*.





maintenance of your prestige—I had rather use that word than "safety"—in this province, of which you were governor, I will play the part and discharge the duties of an intercessor by my importunity, of a kinsman by my efforts, of a popular favourite, I hope, by my influence with the states, of a commander-in-chief by my authority. There is no limit to what I would have you demand or expect of me; I will make your anticipations fall short of my services.

Q. Servilius [a] has delivered me a very short letter from you, and yet it seemed to me longer than it need have been; I felt you did me an injustice in thinking a *request* necessary. I could have wished that the unhappy occasion had never arisen for your being able to understand what value I set upon you, upon Pompey, whom, as I ought, I esteem more highly than any other man on earth, and upon Brutus—although in our daily intercourse you might have understood this as you are sure to understand it—but since the occasion has arisen, if I leave anything undone, I shall confess to have committed a crime and covered myself with disgrace. 2

Pomptinus,[b] whom you have treated with remarkable and even extraordinary loyalty, a kindness to which I can myself testify, shows that he is as grateful and well-disposed towards you as he is in duty bound to be, for although he had been compelled by urgent private affairs to leave me much against my will, yet, when he saw it was to your interest, though in the act of embarking, he returned from Ephesus to Laodicea. Seeing that you are likely to meet with such acts of devotion in countless cases, I can have no doubt whatever that all this anxiety you are suffering will but enhance your ascendancy. If, 3

effeceris, ut censores creentur, et si ita gesseris censuram, ut et debes et potes, non tibi solum, sed tuis omnibus video in perpetuum summo te praesidio futurum. Illud pugna et enitere, ne quid nobis temporis prorogetur; ut, cum hic tibi satisfecerimus, istic quoque nostram in te benevolentiam navare
4 possimus. Quae de hominum atque ordinum omnium erga te studiis scribis ad me, minime mihi miranda et maxime iucunda acciderunt; eademque ad me perscripta sunt a familiaribus meis. Itaque capio magnam voluptatem, cum tibi, cuius mihi amicitia non solum ampla, sed etiam iucunda est, ea tribui, quae debeantur; tum vero remanere etiam nunc in civitate nostra studia, prope omnium consensu, erga fortes et industrios viros; quae mihi ipsa una semper tributa merces est laborum et vigiliarum
5 mearum. Illud vero mihi permirum accidit, tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adolescente, cuius ego salutem duobus capitis iudiciis summa contentione defendi, ut, tuis inimicitiis suscipiendis, oblivisceretur patroni omnium fortunarum ac rationum suarum; praesertim cum tu omnibus vel ornamentis vel praesidiis redundares, illi (ut levissime dicam) multa deessent; cuius sermo stultus et puerilis erat iam antea ad me a M. Caelio, familiari nostro, per-

[a] Dolabella. See note on § 1.
[b] It is not known what these trials were for.
[c] "When entering on a course of hostility to you." Shuckburgh.





however, you manage to bring off the election of censors, and if you perform the duties of your own censorship, as you ought and as you can, I feel sure you will be a permanent pillar of strength not only to yourself but to all your relatives. I would have you fight tooth and nail to prevent any extension of my period of office, so that when I have satisfied your claims upon me here, I may be able to demonstrate my goodwill towards you at home as well.

As to what you tell me of the devotion to you of all 4
men of every class, I am as little surprised as I am greatly pleased that it has so fallen out; and I have had the same account of it from intimate friends of mine. I am, therefore, highly delighted not only that all due tribute is paid to you in particular, whose friendship is as great an honour as a pleasure to me, but also that there still survives in our state an attitude of devoted attachment, with practically no dissentients, to men of fortitude and energy; and that in itself in my own case has ever been the only reward I have gained by my laborious days and sleepless nights.

I am extremely surprised, however, that it has 5
come about that the young man [a] whom I only saved from ruin by the greatest exertions in two trials [b] involving capital punishment, should have proved so utterly reckless as to forget, when he undertook to represent [c] all your enemies, the patron of all his fortunes and of his whole career; especially when you had a handsome balance of distinctions, or shall I say safeguards, to your credit, while he, to say the least of it, had a heavy deficit in these respects. The silly and childish things he has been saying had already been fully reported to me by my dear friend

scriptus, de quo item sermone multa scripta sunt abs te. Ego autem citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem coniunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliassem; neque enim de meo erga te studio dubitare debes, neque id est obscurum cuiquam in provincia, nec Romae fuit.
6 Sed tamen significatur in tuis litteris suspicio quaedam et dubitatio tua, de qua alienum tempus est mihi tecum expostulandi, purgandi autem mei necessarium. Ubi enim ego cuiquam legationi fui impedimento, quo minus Romam ad laudem tuam mitteretur? aut in quo potui, si te palam odissem, minus, quod tibi obesset, facere? si clam, magis aperte inimicus esse? Quod si essem ea perfidia, qua sunt ii, qui in nos haec conferunt, tamen ea stultitia certe non fuissem, ut aut in obscuro odio apertas inimicitias, aut, in quo tibi nihil nocerem, summam ostenderem voluntatem nocendi. Ad me adire quosdam memini, nimirum ex Epicteto, qui dicerent, nimis magnos sumptus legatis decerni: quibus ego non tam imperavi, quam censui, sumptus legatis quam maxime ad legem Corneliam decernendos. Atque in eo ipso me non perseverasse, testes sunt rationes civitatum, in quibus, quantum
7 quaeque voluit, legatis tuis datum induxit. Te

[a] Phrygia Epictetus (ἐπίκτητος), so called because it had been added by the Romans to Pergamus.
[b] The Lex Cornelia, enacted by Sulla in 81 B.C., limited the expense the provinces were to be put to for the *legati*.





M. Caelius; and you also have written a good deal about that same talk of his. Now for my own part I should have been more ready to break off a long-standing connexion with a man who had undertaken the representation of your enemies than to form any fresh connexion with him. You ought to have no doubt as to my devotion to you; it is obvious to everybody in the province, and it was obvious at Rome.

And yet there is a hint in your letter of a certain 6
suspicion and doubt in your mind, about which this is not the right time to expostulate with you, but it is the time to clear myself, and I must. When did I ever stand in the way of any deputation being sent to Rome to eulogize you? Or how, if I were your public enemy, could I have done less to injure you, if your private enemy, how could I have shown my hostility more openly? But supposing I were as treacherous as they who heap such charges on my head, even then I am sure I should not have been such a fool as openly to parade my hostilities where I wished to keep my hatred dark, or on the other hand to betray an eager desire to do you harm by an act which would do you no harm at all. I remember some people coming to me, it must have been from Epictetus,[a] to inform me that extravagant sums were being voted to meet the expenses of certain legates: my reply to them, which was not so much a command as an expression of opinion, was that sums for that purpose should be voted as nearly as possible in accordance with the Cornelian law.[b] And as evidence that I did not obstinately insist even upon that, there are the accounts of the states, in which the amount each state desires is entered as paid over to your legates.

autem quibus mendaciis homines levissimi onerarunt! non modo sublatos sumptus, sed etiam a procuratoribus eorum, qui iam profecti essent, repetitos et ablatos, eamque causam multis omnino non eundi fuisse. Quererer tecum atque expostularem, ni, ut supra scripsi, purgare me tibi hoc tuo tempore, quam accusare te mallem, idque putarem esse rectius. Itaque nihil de te, quod credideris, de me, quamobrem non debueris credere, pauca dicam. Nam si me virum bonum, si dignum iis studiis eaque doctrina, cui me a pueritia dedi, si satis magni animi, non minimi consili in maximis rebus perspectum habes, nihil in me, non modo perfidiosum et insidiosum et fallax in amicitia, sed ne humile
8 quidem aut ieiunum debes agnoscere. Sin autem me astutum et occultum iuvat fingere, quid est, quod minus cadere in eiusmodi naturam possit, quam aut florentissimi hominis aspernari benevolentiam, aut eius existimationem oppugnare in provincia, cuius laudem domi defenderis? aut in ea re animum ostendere inimicum, in qua nihil obsis? aut id eligere ad perfidiam, quod ad indicandum odium apertissimum sit, ad nocendum levissimum? Quid erat autem, cur ego in te tam implacabilis essem, cum





Now see with what lies they have crammed you, 7
these fellows of no substance at all!—that not only were the votes for the expenses cancelled, but the money was actually reclaimed and taken out of the pockets of the agents of those who had already started, and that that was the reason in the case of many, why they did not go at all. I should complain and remonstrate with you were it not that, as I wrote above, I preferred to clear myself in your eyes in the day of your trouble, than to make any charge against you, and considered that the more proper course. I shall, therefore, say nothing about you for believing what you did, but only a word or two about myself, to show why you should not have believed it. If you have satisfied yourself that I am an honourable man, worthy of that study and that learning to which I have devoted myself from boyhood, a man of adequate fortitude and of a wisdom that can compare with that of most in affairs of the greatest gravity, then, I say, you ought not to recognize as characteristic of me anything, I will not say disloyal and designing and deceitful in my friendship, but that
is even low or meagre. If, however, it pleases you 8
to represent me as crafty and underhanded, what can possibly be less consistent with such a nature than to flout the friendliness of one in the zenith of his success, or to assail in a province the prestige of one whose high repute you have defended at home? Or to show a spirit of hostility where you can do no damage? Or to select an opportunity for your treachery, which, while it attracts the greatest publicity as an exhibition of hatred, gives least weight to the blow you would inflict? But what reason was there for my being so implacable towards you, when

te ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem, cum tibi prope necesse esset eas agere partes, inimicum mihi fuisse cognossem? Cum vero reditum nostrum in gratiam uterque expetisset, quid in consulatu tuo frustra mecum egisti, quod me aut facere aut sentire voluisses? Quid mihi mandasti, cum te Puteolos[1] prosequerer, in quo non exspectationem tuam dili-
9 gentia mea vicerim? Quod si id est maxime astuti, omnia ad suam utilitatem referre, quid mihi tandem erat utilius, quid commodis meis aptius, quam hominis nobilissimi atque honoratissimi coniunctio, cuius opes, ingenium, liberi, affines, propinqui mihi magno vel ornamento vel praesidio esse possent? Quae tamen ego omnia in expetenda amicitia tua, non astutia quadam, sed aliqua potius sapientia, secutus sum. Quid? illa vincula, quibus quidem libentissime astringor, quanta sunt! studiorum similitudo, suavitas consuetudinis, delectatio vitae atque victus, sermonis societas, litterae interiores. Atque haec domestica. Quid illa tandem popularia? Reditus illustris in gratiam, in quo ne per imprudentiam quidem errari potest sine suspicione perfidiae? Amplissimi sacerdoti collegium? in quo

[1] *Orelli*: Puteolis *codd.*

[a] During the long and bitter feud between Cicero and P. Clodius, Appius's brother, from 62 B.C., when the latter profaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea, to his death in 52 B.C.

[b] In 54 B.C.

[c] Abstruse writings, such as those of Appius on the Augural System, and of Cicero on all sorts of theoretical subjects.





I had learnt from my own brother that you had been no enemy of mine even in those days[a] when it was almost inevitable that you should act the part of one? When, however, a reconciliation eagerly sought on either side had been arranged between us, what single request of yours during your consulship[b] did I fail to grant, whatever it was you desired me either to do or to support with my vote? What single commission did you give me when I escorted you to Puteoli that I did not execute more conscien-
tiously than you even expected I would? But if it 9
be the main characteristic of the crafty man to submit everything to the test of selfish expediency, what, I ask you, could be more expedient for me, what better suited to my interests, than a close alliance with a man of pre-eminently noble birth and the highest official rank, whose resources and intellectual ability, whose children, and relations by marriage and by blood, might either confer upon me great distinction, or afford me great protection? And yet it is true that in seeking your friendship I did have my eye on all these advantages, and that was not a form of craftiness, but showed rather a considerable degree of wisdom. Moreover, how strong are the bonds that bind me to you—and I rejoice in the bondage—the similarity of our tastes, the sweetness of our intimacy, our joy in life, and in the way we live it, the mutual pleasure we find in conversation, and our deeper literary researches.[c] But these are private bonds. What then of the public ties that bind us—a famous reconciliation, in which not even by inadvertency can a false step be made without raising the suspicion of insincerity?—our common membership of a most majestic priesthood? In

non modo amicitiam violari apud maiores nostros fas non erat, sed ne cooptari quidem sacerdotem licebat, qui cuiquam ex collegio esset inimicus. Quae ut omittam tam multa atque tanta, quis umquam tanti quemquam fecit aut facere potuit aut debuit, quanti ego Cn. Pompeium, socerum tuae filiae? Etenim si merita valent, patriam, liberos, salutem, dignitatem, memetipsum mihi per illum restitutum puto; si consuetudinis iucunditas, quae fuit umquam amicitia consularium in nostra civitate coniunctior? si illa amoris atque officii signa, quid mihi ille non commisit? quid non mecum communicavit? quid de se in senatu, cum ipse abesset, per quemquam agi maluit? quibus ille me rebus non ornatissimum esse voluit amplissime? qua denique ille facilitate, qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone, adversante interdum actionibus suis! quo studio providit, ne quae me illius temporis invidia attingeret, cum me consilio, cum auctoritate, cum armis denique texit suis! Quibus quidem temporibus haec in eo gravitas, haec animi altitudo fuit, non modo ut Phrygi alicui aut Lycaoni, quod tu in legatis fecisti, sed ne summorum quidem hominum malevolis de me sermonibus crederet.





which, as our ancestors thought, not only could there be no violation of the laws of friendship without sacrilege, but it was unlawful for a man to be even elected priest, who was at enmity with any member of the College.

But not to mention such bonds, numerous and important as they are, what man has ever esteemed, or could, or should have esteemed another as highly as I do Pompey, the father-in-law of your daughter? For if kind actions have any value, it was to his efforts I consider that I owe the restoration to me of country, children, security, position, indeed my very self. If the charm of constant intimacy, what instance of closer friendship between consulars has ever occurred in our state? If the usual signs of affection and regard, what confidence has he not shown in me? What secret has he not shared with me? What matter affecting himself in the Senate has he preferred to be handled by any other in his own absence? In what respects has he not shown his desire that I should be honoured with the most handsome distinction? And, finally, how good-naturedly, how courteously did he take my impassioned defence of Milo—Milo, who occasionally opposed his own measures! With what heartiness he took precautions that I should not feel the tooth of that malice the occasion had provoked, when he protected me with his counsel, his authority, and finally with his troops! Indeed, in those days of danger such was his staunchness, such his high-mindedness, that he gave no credence, I will not say to some Phrygian or Lycaonian, as you did in the matter of the legates, but not even to men of the highest position in Rome, when they made malicious

Huius igitur filius cum sit gener tuus, cumque, praeter hanc coniunctionem affinitatis, quam sis Cn. Pompeio carus quamque iucundus, intellegam, quo tandem animo in te esse debeo? cum praesertim eas ad me is litteras miserit, quibus, etiamsi tibi, cui sum amicissimus, hostis essem, placarer tamen totumque me ad eius viri ita de me meriti voluntatem
11 nutumque converterem. Sed haec hactenus. Pluribus enim etiam fortasse verbis, quam necesse fuit, scripta sunt. Nunc ea, quae a me perfecta quaeque instituta sunt, cognosce: * * * Atque haec agimus et agemus magis pro dignitate, quam pro periculo tuo. Te enim (ut spero) propediem censorem audiemus; cuius magistratus officia, quae sunt maximi animi summique consili, tibi diligentius et accuratius, quam haec, quae nos de te agimus, cogitanda esse censeo.

## XI

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO (UT SPERO) CENSORI

In castris ad Pyramum, A.U.C. 704.

1 Cum essem in castris ad fluvium Pyramum, redditae mihi sunt uno tempore a te epistolae duae, quas ad me Q. Servilius Tarso miserat. Earum in altera dies erat ascripta Nonarum Aprilium: in altera, quae mihi recentior videbatur, dies non erat. Re-

[a] What follows here is supposed to have been expunged before these letters were published.

[b] One of the largest rivers of Asia Minor, rising in the south-east of Cappadocia, flowing through Cilicia, and reaching the sea near Mallus.





remarks about me. Since his son then is your son-in-law, and since, over and above this connexion by marriage, I know how dear and how delightful a companion you are to Cn. Pompeius, I ask you, what is my feeling towards you bound to be? Especially when he has written me such a letter that, had I been your enemy and not your devoted friend, I should have been propitiated by it, and submitted myself unreservedly to the wishes, yes, even to the nod, of one who had deserved so well of me.

But no more on these topics; perhaps I have 11
already dealt with them at unnecessary length. Now let me tell you what schemes I have started and put on a sound footing[a] . . . And all this that I am doing, and intend to do, is in defence of your high position rather than to secure your personal safety. For I hope to hear at an early date that you have been elected censor; well, the duties of that magistracy demand very high courage and very sound judgement, and I am of opinion that you would do well to give more earnest and careful consideration to those duties than you do to my activities in your interest.

## XI

M. CICERO TO APPIUS PULCHER, CENSOR *(I hope)*

In camp on the Pyramus,[b] June, 50 B.C.

While in camp on the river Pyramus, I have had two 1
letters from you delivered to me at the same time, which Q. Servilius had sent me from Tarsus. In one of them the date given was April 5; the other, which I gathered to be the later of the two, was undated.

spondebo igitur superiori prius, in qua scribis ad me de absolutione maiestatis. De qua etsi permultum ante certior factus eram litteris, nuntiis, fama denique ipsa (nihil enim fuit clarius; non quo quisquam aliter putasset, sed nihil de insignibus ad laudem viris obscure nuntiari solet), tamen eadem illa laetiora fecerunt mihi tuae litterae, non solum quia planius loquebantur et uberius, quam vulgi sermo, sed etiam, quia magis videbar tibi gratulari, cum de te ex te
2 ipso audiebam. Complexus igitur sum cogitatione te absentem; epistolam vero osculatus, etiam ipse mihi gratulatus sum. Quae enim a cuncto populo, a senatu, a iudicibus ingenio, industriae, virtuti tribuuntur (mihi ipse assentor fortasse, cum ea esse in me fingo), mihi quoque ipsi tribui puto. Nec tam gloriosum exitum tui iudici exstitisse, sed tam pravam inimicorum tuorum mentem fuisse mirabar. De ambitu vero quid interest, inquies, an de maiestate? Ad rem nihil. Alterum enim non attigisti, alteram auxisti. Verumtamen est maiestas (etsi Sulla noluit,[1] ne in quemvis impune declamari

[1] noluit, *suggested by Purser in the Oxford text, greatly simplifies the sense, and* voluit ne liceret *M is surely questionable Latin.*

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[a] In full *crimen laesae maiestatis populi Romani*, applicable not only to acts of treason, but to any mismanagement of affairs which affected the public interests.

[b] *i.e.*, as far as you are concerned, for you were guilty of neither. And he goes on to explain why Appius's enemies preferred to charge him with *maiestas* rather than *ambitus*.





I shall therefore reply to the earlier letter first—the letter in which you tell of your acquittal on the charge of *maiestas*.[a] It is true that I had been informed about it long before in letters and messages and lastly by the general talk about it, for nothing could have been less of a secret—not that anybody could have thought it would have turned out otherwise, but as generally happens, no announcement affecting men of conspicuously high reputation can be kept dark—but anyhow your letter added to the pleasure which all that news had given me, not only because it spoke more distinctly and in richer detail than the ordinary gossip one hears, but because I thought my congratulations were better justified when I listened to you telling me your own story.

Well then, far away as you were, I threw my arms 2
around you in thought, and I really did kiss the letter, and then I congratulated myself too; for any tribute paid by the whole people, the Senate and the jurors to capacity, hard work, and integrity—though perhaps I flatter myself in imagining such virtues are to be found in me—I consider any such tribute is paid also to myself. But I was not so much surprised at the glorious result of your trial as at the distorted mental vision of your enemies. But you will say "bribery and corruption" or *maiestas*—what is the difference? None that really matters;[b] for you never touched the one, and the latter,[c] you have enhanced. But as a matter of fact *maiestas* (although Sulla never meant it to be so, lest the public denunciation of any man should be allowed to

[c] *Maiestas* here is used in the simple sense of "the majesty of the people," and not in the legal sense explained above. It is a bold play upon words.

liceret) ambigua[1]; ambitus vero ita apertam vim habet, ut aut accusetur improbe aut defendatur. Qui enim facta aut non facta largitio ignorari potest? Tuorum autem honorum cursus cui suspectus umquam fuit? Me miserum, qui non adfuerim! quos
3 ego risus excitassem! Sed de maiestatis iudicio duo mihi illa ex tuis litteris iucundissima fuerunt; unum, quod te ab ipsa republica defensum scribis; quae quidem, etiam in summa bonorum et fortium civium copia, tueri tales viros deberet, nunc vero eo magis, quod tanta penuria est in omni vel honoris vel aetatis gradu, ut tam orba civitas tales tutores complecti debeat; alterum, quod Pompei et Bruti fidem benevolentiamque mirifice laudas. Laetor virtute et officio, cum tuorum necessariorum, meorum amicissimorum, tum alterius, omnium saeculorum et gentium principis, alterius, iampridem iuventutis, celeriter (ut spero) civitatis. De mercenariis testibus a suis civitatibus notandis, nisi iam factum

[1] *This is Lehmann's admirable insertion*: liceret; ambitus *codd.*

[a] *Laesa* or *minuta maiestas* (usually *maiestas* alone) being a vaguely comprehensive term, including any act whatever derogatory to the dignity, or prejudicial to the interests of the Roman people, was a charge easily made and admitting of no very positive defence. Sulla, however, in his Cornelian Laws intended it to be at least definite enough to check indiscriminate public vituperation. About *ambitus* on the other hand, there was no vagueness at all; it could be proved or disproved; "and who," says Cicero, "has ever impugned your political purity?" As a matter of fact Appius was first accused of *maiestas*, and, on being acquitted, was shortly afterwards accused of *ambitus*, and again acquitted.





pass unpunished) *is* an ambiguous term;[a] whereas "bribery and corruption" is so definite in meaning that either the prosecution or the defence must be scandalously false. For how can it fail to be proved whether an act of bribery was or was not committed? But who has ever suspected your successive public promotions? How sorry I am that I was not there! How I should have made them laugh!

But in your letter about your trial on the charge 3
of *maiestas* there are two passages which pleased me exceedingly. One is your writing that your defence was undertaken by the Republic herself; and certainly, even if there were an abundant supply of honourable and courageous citizens, it would be her duty to protect such men, but all the more at the present time, because so great is the dearth of such men in every official rank, and at every stage of life, that, in her destitution the State should make the most of such guardians as yourself. And the second passage is your glowing tribute to the loyalty and friendly feeling of Pompey and Brutus. I rejoice that they have been so honourably fair and courteous to you; for not only are they your relatives and my very dear friends, but one of them is the chief man of every age and nation, and the other has long been the chief of our younger men,[b] and will soon, I trust, be the chief of the state. As to the public disgracing of the venal witnesses by their several states, unless something has already been done through the agency

Appius implies by his question that he does not care whether he is charged with *ambitus* or *maiestas*, but Cicero thinks his chance of acquittal would be stronger if he was charged with *ambitus*.

[b] During the Republic the chief of the *equites* held the title of *princeps iuventutis*.

aliquid est per Flaccum, fiet a me, cum per Asiam
4 decedam. Nunc ad alteram epistulam venio. Quod ad me quasi formam communium temporum et totius reipublicae misisti expressam, prudentia litterarum tuarum valde mihi est grata. Video enim et pericula leviora, quam timebam, et maiora praesidia, si quidem (ut scribis) *omnes vires civitatis se ad Pompei ductum applicaverunt,* tuumque simul promptum animum et alacrem perspexi ad defendendam rempublicam, mirificamque cepi voluptatem ex hac tua diligentia, quod, in summis tuis occupationibus, mihi tamen reipublicae statum per te notum esse voluisti. Nam *Augurales Libros* ad commune utriusque nostrum otium serva; ego enim, a te cum tua promissa per litteras flagitabam, ad Urbem te otiosissimum esse arbitrabar. Nunc tamen, ut ipse polliceris, pro *Auguralibus Libris, Orationes* tuas con-
5 fectas omnes exspectabo. D. Tullius, cui mandata ad me dedisti, non convenerat me; nec erat iam quisquam mecum tuorum praeter omnes meos, qui sunt omnes tui. Stomachosiores meas litteras quas dicas esse, non intelligo. Bis ad te scripsi, me purgans diligenter, te leniter accusans in eo, quod de me cito credidisses; quod genus querellae mihi quidem videbatur esse amici; sin tibi displicet, non utar eo

[a] C. Valerius Flaccus was on Appius's staff in Cilicia, and also one of Cicero's subordinates.





of Flaccus,[a] I shall take action myself on my homeward journey through Asia.

Now I come to your second letter. You send me 4
a well outlined sketch-plan, as I may call it, of the crisis as it affects both of us, and of the general political situation, and I am very grateful for the insight you show in your letter; for I gather that the dangers are less than I feared, and the safeguards greater, if, as you write, all the strength of the state has put itself at the disposal of Pompey; and at the same time I recognized your promptitude and alertness in the defence of the Republic, and I derived extraordinary pleasure from the pains you took, I mean in being so kind as to send me word of the political situation, engrossed as you were in matters of such vast importance. For pray put away the "augural books" until we are both at leisure; I assure you that when I kept urging and pressing you by letter to fulfil your promises, I was under the impression that you had absolutely nothing to do while waiting outside the City. As it is, however, according to your own promise, instead of the "augural books" I shall look forward to having all your "orations" complete.

Decimus Tullius, whom you entrusted with a 5
message for me, has not yet met me; and there is now not one of your people with me, except all my people, who are all equally yours. What letter of mine it is you describe as unduly choleric I cannot make out. I wrote to you twice, clearing myself carefully, and mildly rebuking you for having too readily believed what was said of me; and it seemed to me that kind of remonstrance was befitting in a friend; but if you do not like it, I shall not adopt it

posthac. Sed si, ut scribis, eae litterae non fuerunt disertae, scito meas non fuisse. Ut enim Aristarchus Homeri versum negat, quem non probat, sic tu (libet enim mihi iocari), quod disertum non erit, ne putaris meum. Vale, et in censura, si iam es censor, ut spero, de proavo multum cogitato tuo.

## XII

M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO

Sidae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Gratulabor tibi prius (ita enim rerum ordo postulat), deinde ad me convertar. Ego vero vehementer gratulor de iudicio ambitus; neque id, quod nemini dubium fuit, absolutum esse te, sed illud, quod, quo melior civis, quo vir clarior, quo fortior amicus es, quoque plura virtutis industriae ornamenta in te sunt, eo mirandum est magis, nullam ne in tabellae quidem latebra fuisse absconditam malevolentiam, quae te impugnare auderet. Non horum temporum, non horum hominum atque morum negotium! nihil
2 iam sum pridem admiratus magis. De me autem, suscipe paullisper meas partes, et eum te esse finge, qui sum ego; si facile inveneris, quid dicas, noli

[a] The grammarian of Samothrace, who flourished 156 B.C. His labours were mainly devoted to the Greek poets, especially Homer.
[b] Appius Claudius Caecus, censor 312–308 B.C., the most famous of the censors.





for the future. But if, as you write, the letter was badly expressed, you may be sure I never wrote it. Just as Aristarchus[a] says that a line to which he objects is not Homer's, so you (I will have my little joke) must never suppose that what is badly expressed was written by me. Farewell, and in your censorship, if by this time you *are* censor, and I hope you are, let your thoughts dwell much upon your ancestor.[b]

## XII

M. T. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER

Sida, early in August, 50 B.C.

First I shall congratulate you—for that is what 1
the sequence of events demands—and then I shall turn to my own affairs. I do indeed congratulate you heartily on the result of the trial for bribery and corruption, and not so much on the fact of your acquittal, as to which nobody was in any doubt, but on this, that the better you are as a citizen, the more distinguished as a man, the more chivalrous as a friend, the richer you are in the graces of courage and energy, the more astonishing is it that not even in the secrecy of the ballot was there found hidden away any such ill-will as could venture to attack you —a transaction not characteristic of these days, nor of our modern men and manners. It is long since I have been so much surprised at anything.

As regards myself, just assume for a moment the 2
part I have to play, and imagine yourself in my place; if you have no difficulty in hitting upon the right thing to say, why, then consider my hesitancy unpardonable.

ignoscere haesitationi meae. Ego vero velim mihi Tulliaeque meae, sicut tu amicissime et suavissime optas, prospere evenire ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis: sed ita cecidisse, ut agerentur eo tempore (spero omnino cum aliqua felicitate, et opto); verumtamen plus me in hac spe tua sapientia et humanitas consolatur, quam opportunitas temporis. Itaque, quemadmodum expediam exitum huius institutae orationis, non reperio. Neque enim tristius dicere quidquam debeo ea de re, quam tu ipse ominibus optimis prosequeris, neque non me tamen mordet aliquid; in quo unum non vereor, ne tu parum perspicias, ea, quae gesta sunt, ab aliis esse gesta, quibus ego ita mandaram, ut cum tam longe abfuturus essem, ad me ne referrent, agerent, quod
3 probassent. In hoc autem mihi illud occurrit, Quid tu igitur, si adfuisses? Rem probassem; de tempore, nihil te invito, nihil sine consilio egissem tuo. Vides sudare me, iamdudum laborantem, quomodo ea tuear, quae mihi tuenda sunt, et te non offendam. Leva me igitur hoc onere. Numquam enim mihi videor tractasse causam difficiliorem. Sic habeto tamen; nisi iam tunc omnia negotia cum summa tua dignitate diligentissime confecissem, tametsi nihil videbatur ad meum erga te pristinum

[a] Cicero's daughter who, during her father's absence in Cilicia, had married Dolabella.

[b] At the very time that Tullia married him, Dolabella was prosecuting Appius Claudius on a charge of *maiestas*.





I should be glad, however, if what has been arranged by my family without my knowledge turns out happily, as you so kindly and courteously pray it may, for myself and my dear Tullia.[a] But that this should happen to be arranged at that particular time! I hope and pray that it may in any event be blessed with some degree of happiness—but anyhow, while I hope it may be so, I find more to comfort me in your wisdom and kind sympathy than in any feeling that the time was opportune.[b] So how to manage a smooth ending to what I had begun to say, I cannot discover. I ought not to speak too gloomily of what you yourself so auspiciously bless, at the same time I do feel some prickings of conscience; but of one thing I am not afraid—that you will fail to understand clearly that what was done was done by others, to whom my instructions were, that, as I was going to be so far away, they should not ask my advice, but do what they thought best.

Here, however, the question suggests itself to me, 3
"What then would you have done, had you been on the spot?" I should have ratified the engagement, but done nothing as regards the time of the marriage without your approval or without your advice. You see I am panting and puffing with my long struggle to find some way of defending what I am bound to defend without at the same time offending you. Relieve me then of this burden; it seems to me I have never had to deal with a more difficult case. Anyhow, of this you may be sure, that had I not already at that time most carefully settled everything without detriment to your very distinguished position, though I should have thought that no enhancement of my former devotion to you was

studium addi posse, tamen, hac mihi affinitate nuntiata, non maiore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem.

4 Decedenti mihi, et iam imperio annuo terminato, ante diem III. Nonas Sextiles, cum ad Sidam navi accederem, et mecum Q. Servilius esset, litterae a meis sunt redditae. Dixi statim Servilio (etenim videbatur esse commotus), ut omnia a me maiora exspectaret. Quid multa? benevolentior tibi, quam fui, nihilo sum factus, diligentior ad declarandam benevolentiam multo. Nam, ut vetus nostra simultas antea stimulabat me, ut caverem, ne cui suspicionem ficte reconciliatae gratiae darem, sic affinitas nova curam mihi affert cavendi, ne quid de summo meo erga te amore detractum esse videatur.

## XIII

### M. T C. S. P. D. APPIO PULCHRO

In Asia, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quasi divinarem, tali in officio fore mihi aliquando expetendum studium tuum, sic, cum de tuis rebus gestis agebatur, inserviebam honori tuo. Dicam tamen vere: plus, quam acceperas, reddidisti. Quis

[a] Cicero's embarrassment is clearly revealed in the very elaboration of these sentences.

[b] As an agent of Appius, and therefore apprehensive of a breach between Appius and Cicero.





possible, still, when this relationship between us was announced to me, I should have defended your position, not, of course, with greater devotion than before, but more energetically, more openly, and more markedly.[a]

On quitting the province at the termination of my 4
year of office, as my ship was approaching Sida, Q. Servilius being with me, a letter from my home address was put in my hands; that was on August 3. I at once assured Servilius, who seemed rather upset,[b] that he might look forward to services from me on a larger scale in every respect. In short, while my goodwill towards you remains undiminished, my sincere desire to manifest it has greatly increased. For just as formerly the old feud between us urged me to be careful to avoid giving anybody grounds for suspecting the sincerity of your reconciliation, so now this fresh marriage connexion makes me anxious to avoid any semblance of abatement in the strength of my affection for you.

## XIII

### TO THE SAME

Rhodes, middle of August, 50 B.C.

When the question of your achievements was being 1
discussed, I supported your claim to honour as energetically as though I had a presentiment that the day would come when in similar circumstances I should have to ask for some show of zeal on your part. But to tell you the real truth, you have repaid me more than you received. Every correspondent without exception has explained to me, that not

enim ad me non perscripsit, te non solum auctoritate orationis, sententia tua, quibus ego a tali viro contentus eram, sed etiam opera, consilio, domum veniendo, conveniendis meis, nullum munus offici cuiquam reliquum fecisse! Haec mihi ampliora multo sunt, quam illa ipsa, propter quae haec laborantur. Insignia enim virtutis multi etiam sine virtute assecuti sunt; talium virorum tanta studia
2 assequi sola virtus potest. Itaque mihi propono fructum amicitiae nostrae ipsam amicitiam, qua nihil est uberius, praesertim in iis studiis, quibus uterque nostrum devinctus est. Nam tibi me profiteor et in republica socium, de qua idem sentimus, et in quotidiana vita coniunctum iis artibus studiisque, quae colimus. Vellem ita fortuna tulisset, ut, quanti ego omnes tuos facio, tanti tu meos facere posses; quod tamen ipsum, nescio qua permotus animi divinatione, non despero. Sed hoc nihil ad te; nostrum est onus. Illud velim sic habeas, quod intelleges, hac re novata, additum potius aliquid ad meum erga te studium, cui nihil videbatur addi posse, quam quidquam esse detractum. Cum haec scribebam, censorem te iam esse sperabam. Eo brevior est haec epistola et, ut adversus magistrum morum, modestior.

[a] Appius's reconciliation with Dolabella.
[b] A facetious allusion, as Tyrrell suggests, to *res novae*.
[c] The censor was *ex officio* a director of public morals.





only by the weight of your public speeches and your voting in the Senate (quite enough for me, considering it was you), but also by your active assistance and your advice, by coming to my house and by interviewing my people, you left no act of courtesy for anybody else to do. Now all these efforts of yours are of far greater importance in my eyes than even the object you had in making them. For though the badges of virtue have been won by many a man who has no virtue in him, such sincere devotion on the part of such men as yourself can be won by virtue alone.

What I therefore promise myself as the fruit of 2
our friendship is that friendship itself, and nothing can be more richly fertile than that, especially in those pursuits to which we are both of us deeply attached. I avow myself both your partner in politics, as to which our opinions coincide, and your comrade in every-day life, closely bound to you by the arts and studies we cultivate in common. I could have wished that it had so chanced that you could esteem my family as highly as I esteem every member of yours. And yet some sort of psychic prescience bids me not despair of even that.[a] But that has nothing to do with you; the responsibility lies on me. I should like you to be assured of this, and you will come to see it in time, that by this domestic revolution [b] a substantial addition has been made to my sincere regard for you (though no addition seemed possible) rather than that it has been in the slightest degree impaired. As I write this I hope you are already censor. My letter is so much the shorter, and, as it has to meet the eye of a master of morals,[c] more modest.

# M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

## LIBER QUARTUS

### I

M. T. C. S. D. SER. SULPICIO

In villa quadam, A.U.C. 705.

1 Gaius Trebatius, familiaris meus, ad me scripsit, te ex se quaesisse, quibus in locis essem, molesteque te ferre, quod me propter valetudinem tuam, cum ad Urbem accessissem, non vidisses, et hoc tempore velle te mecum, si propius accessissem, de officio utriusque nostrum communicare. Utinam, Servi, salvis rebus (sic enim est dicendum) colloqui potuissemus inter nos! profecto aliquid opis occidenti reipublicae tulissemus. Cognoram enim iam absens

[a] Surnamed Lemonia after his tribe. He was born in 105, being thus a year older than Cicero, with whom in his youth he attended Molon's lectures on oratory in Rhodes, but afterwards devoted himself to jurisprudence. Early in the Civil War he was a somewhat tepid Pompeian, while his son was an ardent Caesarean. After Pharsalia he lived at Samos, where Brutus attended his lectures. In 46 Caesar made him Governor of Achaia. After the murder of Caesar he tried to reconcile the contending parties, and in 43 was



# CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## BOOK IV

### I

M. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS[a]

Cumae, towards the end of April, 49 B.C.

My intimate friend, Gaius Trebatius,[b] has informed 1
me by letter that you questioned him as to my whereabouts, and that you were vexed that owing to your indisposition you had missed seeing me when I approached the City walls; and that at the present moment you were anxious, if I could get nearer to you, to confer with me as to the duty of each of us. Would that it had been possible, Servius, for us to have had a talk before all was lost[c]—there is no other word for it! We should assuredly have been of some service to the sinking state. For I had already learned in my absence that you, foreseeing

sent by the Senate as an ambassador to Antony, who was then besieging Mutina, and there he died. Long, in the *Dict. Biogr.*, says of him "perhaps of all the men of his age, or of any age, he was as an orator, a jurist, and an advocate without an equal or a rival."

[b] See vii. 6-22.

[c] "Before all was lost" is Tyrrell's happy rendering of *salvis rebus*.

te, haec mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis et in consulatu tuo et post consulatum fuisse. Ego autem, cum consilium tuum probarem et idem ipse sentirem, nihil proficiebam. Sero enim veneram; solus eram; rudis esse videbar in causa; incideram in hominum pugnandi cupidorum insanias. Nunc, quoniam nihil iam videmur opitulari posse reipublicae, si quid est, in quo nobismetipsis consulere possimus, non ut aliquid ex pristino statu nostro retineamus, sed ut quam honestissime lugeamus, nemo est omnium, quicum potius mihi, quam tecum, communicandum putem. Nec enim clarissimorum virorum, quorum similes esse debemus, exempla neque doctissimorum, quos semper coluisti, praecepta te fugiunt. Atque ipse antea ad te scripsissem, te frustra in senatum sive potius in conventum senatorum esse venturum, ni veritus essem, ne eius animum offenderem, qui a me, ut te imitarer, petebat. Cui quidem ego, me cum rogaret, ut adessem in senatu, eadem omnia, quae a te de pace et de Hispaniis dicta sunt, ostendi me esse dicturum.

2 Res vides quo modo se habeant; orbem terrarum, imperiis distributis, ardere bello; Urbem sine legibus, sine iudiciis, sine iure, sine fide relictam direptioni et incendiis. Itaque mihi venire in mentem nihil potest, non modo quid sperem, sed

[a] Sulpicius was consul in 51 B.C.

[b] The meeting of senators convened by Caesar could hardly be called a Senate in the absence of the consuls and many of the magistrates.





these calamities long before they happened, were the champion of peace both during[a] and after your consulship. But as for me, though I approved your policy and held the same opinion myself, I made no headway. You see I had arrived late, I was all alone, I was supposed to be ill-informed as to the facts, and I had suddenly found myself in the midst of a throng of men mad with the lust of battle. Now that it seems that we can be of no assistance at all to the Republic, if there is anything in which we may take thought for our own selves—not in the way of retaining anything worth retaining of our pristine position, but of investing our grief with what dignity we may—there is nobody in the world with whom I think I ought to confer rather than with yourself. For you never forget either the examples of those famous men whom we ought to resemble, or the maxims of those wise men whom you have always venerated. And I should have myself written to you before to warn you that it would be useless for you to attend the Senate, or rather the assembly of senators,[b] had I not been afraid of hurting the feelings of the man who begged of me to follow your lead. And, indeed, when that same person urged me to attend the Senate, I made it clear to him that I should repeat exactly what you had said about peace and the Spains.

You see how the matter stands; that the whole 2
world, ablaze with war, is allotted to the various military commands, while the City, bereft of laws, law-courts, justice, and credit, is left a prey to the plunderer and the incendiary. Thus it is impossible for me to have the slightest idea what I can hope for, nor even what in the circumstances I can dare to

vix iam quid audeam optare. Sin autem tibi, homini prudentissimo, videtur utile esse, nos colloqui, quamquam longius etiam cogitabam ab Urbe discedere, cuius iam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam. Trebatioque mandavi, ut, si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, ne recusaret; idque ut facias, velim; aut, si quem tuorum fidelium voles, ad me mittas; ne aut tibi exire ex Urbe necesse sit, aut mihi accedere. Ego tantum tibi tribuo, quantum mihi fortasse arrogo, ut exploratum habeam, quidquid nos de communi sententia statuerimus, id omnes homines probaturos.

## II

M. T. C. S. D. SER. SULPICIO

In Cumano, A.U.C. 705.

1 A. d. III. Kal. Maias cum essem in Cumano, accepi tuas litteras; quibus lectis cognovi, non satis prudenter fecisse Philotimum, qui cum abs te mandata haberet, ut scribis, de omnibus rebus, ipse ad me non venisset, litteras tuas misisset; quas intellexi breviores fuisse, quod eum perlaturum putasses. Sed tamen, postquam litteras tuas legi, Postumia tua me convenit et Servius noster. His placuit, ut tu in Cumanum venires; quod etiam
2 mecum, ut ad te scriberem, egerunt. Quod meum

[a] The son of the Servius Sulpicius to whom this letter is addressed.





desire. If, however, it seems to a shrewd man like you to be expedient that we should have a talk, although it was my intention to remove still further from the City, which I can now hardly bear to hear named, I shall yet manage to get nearer to you. And I have instructed Trebatius, if there is any message you want him to send me, not to refuse to do so; and I should like you to do so, or to send me anyone you please of those you can trust, so that it may not be necessary either for you to quit the City or for me to approach it. I am paying you as great a compliment as perhaps I am claiming for myself, in the assurance I feel that whatever course you and I together decide upon will be unanimously approved by the world.

## II

TO THE SAME

Cumae, the end of April, 49 B.C.

I received your letter on April 28, when I was at 1
my Cuman villa; and on reading it I gathered that Philotimus did not act quite discreetly when, in spite of the instructions he had from you (as you write) on every point, he failed to come to me himself, and merely forwarded me your letter; and I concluded that it was the shorter because you had imagined that he would deliver it in person. Anyhow, after I had read your letter, your wife Postumia came to see me, and so did our dear Servius.[a] They were of opinion that it was for you to come to my Cuman house, and they even entreated me to write to you to that effect.

consilium exquiris, id est tale, ut capere facilius ipse possim, quam alteri dare. Quid enim est, quod audeam suadere tibi, homini summa auctoritate summaque prudentia? Si, quid rectissimum sit, quaerimus, perspicuum est; si, quid maxime expediat, obscurum; sin ii sumus, qui profecto esse debemus, ut nihil arbitremur expedire, nisi quod rectum honestumque sit, non potest esse dubium,
3 quid faciendum nobis sit. Quod existimas meam causam coniunctam esse cum tua, certe similis in utroque nostrum, cum optime sentiremus, error fuit. Nam omnia utriusque consilia ad concordiam spectaverunt; qua cum ipsi Caesari nihil esset utilius, gratiam quoque nos inire ab eo defendenda pace arbitrabamur. Quantum nos fefellerit et quem in locum res deducta sit, vides. Neque solum ea perspicis, quae geruntur, quaeque iam gesta sunt, sed etiam, qui cursus rerum, qui exitus futurus sit. Ergo aut probare oportet ea, quae fiunt, aut interesse, etiamsi non probes; quorum altera mihi turpis, altera
4 etiam periculosa ratio videtur. Restat, ut discedendum putem. In quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio, quod consilium in discessu, quae loca sequamur. Omnino cum miserior res numquam accidit, tum ne deliberatio quidem difficilior. Nihil





You ask me what plan I have; well, it is the sort 2
of plan that I could more easily adopt myself than recommend to another. For what policy is there that I could venture to press upon a man of your exceptional influence and consummate sagacity? If we are asking what is the most right and proper course, it is there for all to see; if what is most expedient, well, that is not so evident. But if we are the kind of men we surely ought to be, the kind to believe that nought is expedient but what is right and honourable, then there can be no possible doubt as to what we should do.

You assume a close connexion between your case 3
and mine; well, we were certainly both guilty of a like mistake, though our sentiments were most loyal. For whatever the policy of each of us, what we had in view was harmony, and as there was nothing more to the advantage of Caesar himself, we imagined that we were even earning his gratitude by our advocacy of peace. How greatly we have been deceived, and to what a pass things have come, you can see for yourself; and not only do you clearly understand all that is being done and all that has already been done, but also what the trend of affairs is, and what is likely to be the issue. One is therefore obliged either to approve the measures now being taken, or else to be implicated in them even if one does not approve. The former alternative strikes me as being dishonourable, the latter as being dangerous as well.

All that is left is that I think I must go; and there 4
is nothing else to consider but what is my plan when I do go, and what my destination. Look at it as you will, no more wretched state of things has ever occurred, no, nor any problem harder to solve. For no

enim constitui potest, quod non incurrat in magnam aliquam difficultatem. Tu, si videbitur, ita censeo facias, ut, si habes iam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non sit coniunctum consilium tuum cum meo, supersedeas hoc labore itineris; sin autem est, quod mecum communicare velis, ego te exspectabo. Tu, quod tuo commodo fiat, quam primum velim venias, sicut intellexi et Servio et Postumiae placere.

## III

M. T. C. S. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Vehementer te esse sollicitum et in communibus miseriis praecipuo quodam dolore angi, multi ad nos quotidie deferunt. Quod quamquam minime miror et meum quodammodo agnosco, doleo tamen, te, sapientia praeditum prope singulari, non tuis bonis delectari potius, quam alienis malis laborare. Me quidem, etsi nemini concedo, qui maiorem ex pernicie et peste reipublicae molestiam traxerit, tamen multa iam consolantur, maximeque conscientia consiliorum meorum. Multo enim ante, tamquam ex aliqua specula, prospexi tempestatem futuram; neque id solum mea sponte, sed multo etiam magis, monente





decision can be made which does not find itself barred by some awkward obstacle. If you have now determined what you consider should be your course of action, even supposing it does not coincide with my own, I think, if you have no objection, that you might well dispense with your troublesome journey here; but if there is anything you would like to discuss with me, I shall look forward to seeing you. Indeed, I should like you to come as soon as possible without inconvenience to yourself—a proposal agreeable, as I gathered, to both Servius and Postumia.

## III

TO THE SAME

Rome, early in September, 46 B.C.

That you are profoundly agitated, and, amid the miseries we all feel, are suffering a special sorrow of your own—such is the report that many bring me daily. And though I am but little surprised at that and recognize it as to a certain degree my own case, still I am sorry that, endowed as you are with a wisdom almost unique, you should not rather delight in your own blessings than be harassed by the misfortunes of others. As regards myself, though I yield to no man as having suffered more sorrow than myself through the destruction and ruin of the Republic, I now find much to console me, and most of all the consciousness of the policy I had advocated. Long before it came, I foresaw as from some high watch-tower the storm that was to be, and that not by my own intuition only, but far more in consequence of your 1

et denuntiante te. Etsi enim abfui magnam partem consulatus tui, tamen et absens cognoscebam, quae esset tua in hoc pestifero bello cavendo et praedicendo sententia, et ipse adfui primis temporibus tui consulatus, cum accuratissime monuisti senatum, collectis omnibus bellis civilibus, ut et illa timerent, quae meminissent, et scirent, cum superiores, nullo tali exemplo antea in republica cognito, tam crudeles fuissent, quicumque postea rempublicam oppressisset armis, multo intolerabiliorem futurum. Nam quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant; sed aliquid,
2 atque adeo multa, addunt et afferunt de suo. Quare meminisse debes, eos, qui auctoritatem et consilium tuum non sint secuti, sua stultitia occidisse, cum tua prudentia salvi esse potuissent. Dices: "Quid me ista res consolatur in tantis tenebris et quasi parietinis reipublicae?" Est omnino vix consolabilis dolor; tanta est omnium rerum amissio et desperatio recuperandi. Sed tamen et Caesar ipse ita de te iudicat, et omnes cives sic existimant, quasi lumen aliquod exstinctis ceteris elucere sanctitatem et prudentiam et dignitatem tuam. Haec tibi ad levandas molestias magna esse debent. Quod autem a tuis abes, id eo





warnings and denunciations. For though I was absent during a great part of your consulship, yet even in my absence I used to be informed of what opinions you expressed in guarding against and foretelling this pernicious war, and I was myself present in the early days of your consulship, when, after a survey of all our civil wars, with a wealth of detail you urged the Senate, while they feared the warnings of the civil wars within their memory, to draw the inference that, as the earlier combatants had shown a ruthlessness hitherto quite unprecedented in the Republic, so whosoever should subsequently succeed in crushing the Republic by force of arms would display a tyranny far more intolerable. For men assume that what is done by precedent is also done by right; but they add to that precedent and contribute to it something, nay rather, a great deal of their own.

And that is why you ought to remember, that 2
those who failed to follow your authority and advice perished by their own folly, when your far-sightedness might have been their salvation. You will say "What consolation is that to me, amid this oppressive gloom, and what I may call the crumbling walls of the Republic?" Yes, it is undoubtedly a sorrow that hardly admits of consolation; so overwhelming is the sense of universal loss without hope of recovery. And yet this is Caesar's own judgement of you, and the opinion of all your fellow-citizens—that your uprightness, your wisdom, and your worth, shine forth like some great light, when all other lights are quenched. This ought to conduce much to the alleviation of your troubles. Now as to your being away from your friends, that is the more easily to be

levius ferendum est, quod eodem tempore a multis et magnis molestiis abes; quas ad te omnes perscriberem, nisi vererer, ne ea cognosceres absens, quae quia non vides, mihi videris meliore esse con-
3 ditione, quam nos, qui videmus. Hactenus existimo nostram consolationem recte adhibitam esse, quoad certior ab homine amicissimo fieres iis de rebus, quibus levari possent molestiae tuae. Reliqua sunt in te ipso, neque mihi ignota nec minima solatia—ut quidem ego sentio, multo maxima—quae ego, experiens quotidie, sic probo, ut ea mihi salutem afferre videantur. Te autem ab initio aetatis memoria teneo summe omnium doctrinarum studiosum fuisse, omniaque, quae a sapientissimis ad bene vivendum tradita essent, summo studio curaque didicisse. Quae quidem vel optimis rebus et usui et delectationi esse possent; his vero temporibus habemus aliud nihil, in quo acquiescamus. Nihil faciam insolenter; neque te, tali vel scientia vel natura praeditum, hortabor, ut ad eas te referas artes, quibus a primis temporibus aetatis
4 studium tuum dedisti. Tantum dicam, quod te spero approbaturum, me, posteaquam illi arti, cui studueram, nihil esse loci neque in curia neque in foro viderim, omnem meam curam atque operam ad philosophiam contulisse. Tuae scientiae excellenti ac

[a] *i.e.*, as a lawyer.





endured, because you are at the same time out of the way of many serious annoyances; I should send you a complete list of them, were I not afraid that, far from home as you are, you might be made aware of things which you do not actually see, and are therefore, it seems to me, better off than we who do see them.

I think the consolation I have offered you is justi- 3
fied, so far as it meant your being informed by one who is most friendly to you of what might mitigate your distress. You have other means of consolation in your own hands, and they are neither unknown to me nor the least important—indeed, I feel they are by far the most important—and I have so tested their efficacy by daily trial, that they seem to me to represent salvation.

Now I well remember that you have been from the early days of your adolescence deeply devoted to every form of philosophical learning, and have mastered with enthusiastic diligence all the traditions of the wisest philosophers on the way to live aright. These could, of course, be a profit and a pleasure to us at the best of times, but in these days we have nothing else in which to find repose. I am not going to be impertinent, nor am I going to exhort one so gifted with professional skill,[a] or shall I say natural ability, to return to those accomplishments to which you have devoted your enthusiasm from the early days of your adolescence. No, I am only going to 4
say this (and I hope you will agree with me) that, in my case, when I saw that there was no scope either in the senate-house or in the forum for that art which I had made my study, I concentrated all my attention and all my energy upon philosophy. There is not

singulari non multo plus, quam nostrae, relictum est loci. Quare non equidem te moneo; sed mihi ita persuasi, te quoque in iisdem versari rebus, quae, etiamsi minus prodessent, animum tamen a sollicitudine abducerent. Servius quidem tuus in omnibus ingenuis artibus, in primisque hac, in qua ego me scripsi acquiescere, ita versatur, ut excellat; a me vero sic diligitur, ut tibi uni concedam, praeterea nemini; mihique ab eo gratia refertur: in quo ille existimat, quod facile appareat, cum me colat et observet, tibi quoque in eo se facere gratissimum.

## IV

M. T. C. S. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 707.

1 Accipio excusationem tuam, qua usus es, cur saepius ad me litteras uno exemplo dedisses, sed accipio ex ea parte, quatenus aut neglegentia, aut improbitate eorum, qui epistolas accipiant, fieri scribis, ne ad nos perferantur; illam partem excusationis, qua te scribis *orationis paupertate* (sic enim appellas) iisdem verbis epistolas saepius mittere, nec nosco nec probo. Et ego ipse, quem tu per iocum (sic enim accipio) *divitias orationis* habere dicis, me non esse verborum admodum inopem agnosco (*εἰρωνεύεσθαι*

[a] Or "with the same contents."





much more scope left for that outstanding and incomparable legal skill of yours than for mine. And so I do not pose as your mentor, but I am quite sure that you, too, are occupying yourself with matters which, though not so profitable, would distract the mind from brooding on its troubles.

Your son Servius busies himself with conspicuous success in all the liberal arts, and especially in that in which I have already told you that I find repose; and really my affection for him is such that I should yield in that respect to you alone, and no man else; and I have my reward in his gratitude; and in this, as may easily be seen, he thinks that when he shows me respect and deference, he is thereby doing what gives you too the greatest pleasure.

## IV

TO THE SAME

Rome, late in September, 45 B.C.

I accept the excuse you offer for having so often sent me a letter in duplicate,[a] but I accept only that part of it in which you attribute it to the carelessness or the rascality of the carriers that your letters do not reach me. As to that part of your excuse in which you declare that "poverty of language"—that is how you put it—makes you use the same words too often in your letters, I neither recognize nor approve it. Why, even I myself—and you, though jestingly (as I take it), describe me as a man of "opulent vocabulary"—admit that I am not exactly embarrassed for lack of words (for there is no need to be "mock 1

enim non necesse est), sed tamen idem (nec hoc εἰρωνευόμενος) facile cedo tuorum scriptorum sub-
2 tilitati et elegantiae. Consilium tuum, quo te usum scribis hoc Achaicum negotium non recusavisse, cum semper probavissem, tum multo magis probavi, lectis tuis proximis litteris. Omnes enim causae, quas commemoras, iustissimae sunt tuaque et auctoritate et prudentia dignissimae. Quod aliter cecidisse rem existimas, atque opinatus sis, id tibi nullo modo assentior. Sed quia tanta perturbatio et confusio est rerum, ita perculsa et prostrata foedissimo bello iacent omnia, ut is cuique locus, ubi ipse sit, et sibi quisque miserrimus esse videatur, propterea et tui te consili poenitet, et nos, qui domi sumus, tibi beati videmur; at contra nobis, non tu quidem vacuus molestiis, sed prae nobis beatus. Atque hoc ipso melior est tua, quam nostra, condicio, quod tu, quid doleat, scribere audes, nos ne id quidem tuto possumus; nec id victoris vitio, quo nihil moderatius, sed ipsius victo-
3 riae, quae civilibus bellis semper est insolens. Uno te vicimus, quod de Marcelli, collegae tui, salute

[a] Or "purity and propriety" (Watson).

[b] M. Marcellus, consul with Sulpicius in 51 B.C., when he showed himself a bitter enemy to Caesar. He even caused a citizen (according to some authorities, a senator or ex-magistrate) of Comum to be scourged at Rome for some trivial offence, to prove that he repudiated the validity of the *civitas* conferred upon that colony, under the Lex Vatinia, by Caesar. Early in 49 he urged, but unsuccessfully, the necessity of levying Republican troops before openly breaking with Caesar. He fled from Rome on the outbreak of the Civil War, and after Pharsalia retired to Mitylene, where he devoted himself to rhetoric and philosophy. In 46, his cousin C. Marcellus, in a full senate, implored Caesar to pardon his kinsman, with the result described in





modest"); and yet even so (and there is no "mock-modesty" in this either) I readily acknowledge your superiority in the refinement and good taste[a] of your compositions.

That policy of yours which, as you write, led you 2
not to decline this post in Achaia, I have always approved, and approve much more heartily now that I have read your last letter; for all the reasons you specify are perfectly sound and quite worthy of your high position and sagacity. You think that in this case things have not turned out as you expected; well, there I do not agree with you at all. The fact is that so appalling is the general disorganization and chaos, so irremediable the overthrow and prostration of every interest by this most horrible war, that every man thinks that where he happens to be is the most miserable place, and himself the most miserable person in the world; and that is precisely why you not only regret your policy, but also imagine that we who are at home are happy; while we on the other hand consider you to be, not indeed free from all annoyances, but still happy as compared with ourselves. Moreover, in this particular respect your lot is better than ours—you venture to put in writing what is troubling you, we cannot do even that with any safety; and that is through no fault of the victor, who is a marvel of moderation, but of the victory itself, which in civil wars is ever overbearing.

On one point I claim a victory over you; I got to 3
know of the restoration of your colleague Marcellus,[b]

this letter. Cicero formally expressed his gratitude to Caesar in his speech *Pro Marcello*. Returning to Rome, Marcellus got as far as the Piraeus, where he was murdered by P. Magius Cilo (see Ep. xii. of this Book).

paullo antequam tu cognovimus; etiam mehercule, quod, quemadmodum ea res ageretur, vidimus. Nam sic fac existimes: post has miserias, id est, postquam armis disceptari coeptum sit de iure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate. Nam et ipse Caesar, accusata acerbitate Marcelli (sic enim appellabat), laudataque honorificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia, repente praeter spem dixit, *se senatui roganti de Marcello ne ominis*[1] *quidem causa negaturum.* Fecerat autem hoc senatus, ut, cum a L. Pisone mentio esset facta de Marcello, et cum C. Marcellus se ad Caesaris pedes abiecisset, cunctus consurgeret et ad Caesarem supplex accederet. Noli quaerere: ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam
4 viderer videre quasi reviviscentis reipublicae. Itaque cum omnes ante me rogati gratias Caesari egissent praeter Volcatium; is enim, si eo loco esset, negavit se facturum fuisse; ego rogatus mutavi meum consilium. Nam statueram, non mehercule inertia, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis, in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Caesaris magnitudo animi et senatus officium. Itaque pluribus verbis egi Caesari gratias; meque, metuo, ne etiam in ceteris rebus honesto otio privarim, quod erat unum solatium

[1] *R*: hominis *G*, neominus *M*.

[a] That is, for the future relations between Caesar and the Senate. The earlier reading *hominis* would mean "even though the particular person in question happened to be Marcellus"; but this is less consistent with vi. 16. 10 "Marcellum . . . cum summa illius dignitate restituit."

[b] L. Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law, consul with Gabinius in 58.

[c] Cousin of Marcus Marcellus; he was consul in 50.

[d] Others take it to mean "had he been in Marcellus's place, he would not have accepted pardon."

[e] To Marcellus, as one of its members.





a little earlier than you did; and, more than that, I declare to you that I saw how the whole business was managed. Please understand this—ever since these calamities set in, I mean ever since national right was first submitted to the arbitrament of arms, this is the only dignified transaction that has occurred. For Caesar himself, having protested against Marcellus's "acrimony" (that is the term he used) and having eulogized in the most complimentary terms both your fairness and your far-sightedness, suddenly and unexpectedly declared that he would not refuse the request of the Senate in the matter of Marcellus, in spite of its being a bad omen.[a] Now when the question of Marcellus had been opened by L. Piso,[b] and when Gaius Marcellus[c] had flung himself at Caesar's feet, the Senate, as it had previously arranged to do, rose in a body and approached Caesar with an air of supplication. Not to waste words, this seemed to me so glorious a day that I imagined I saw before me some fair vision of the Republic rising, as
it were, from the dead. And so when all who had 4
been asked to speak before me had expressed their gratitude to Caesar (except Volcatius, who declared, that had he been in Caesar's place, he would not have acted as Caesar did[d]), on being asked my opinion I broke my resolution; for I had determined, not, I assure you, from indolence, but because I resented the loss of my former position, never to speak again. This determination of mine suddenly gave way before Caesar's magnanimity and the Senate's devotion[e]; and so I expressed my thanks to Caesar at considerable length; and I am afraid that in all other such cases I have cheated myself of the honourable leisure which was my one solace amid my troubles.

in malis. Sed tamen, quoniam effugi eius offensionem, qui fortasse arbitraretur, me hanc rempublicam non putare, si perpetuo tacerem, modice hoc faciam, aut etiam intra modum, ut et illius voluntati et meis studiis serviam. Nam etsi a prima aetate me omnis ars et doctrina liberalis, et maxime philosophia delectavit, tamen hoc studium quotidie ingravescit, credo et aetatis maturitate ad prudentiam, et his temporum vitiis, ut nulla res alia levare animum molestiis possit.
5 A quo studio te abduci negotiis intelligo ex tuis litteris; sed tamen aliquid iam noctes te adiuvabunt. Servius tuus, vel potius noster, summa me observantia colit; cuius ego cum omni probitate summaque virtute, tum studiis doctrinaque delector. Is mecum saepe de tua mansione aut decessione communicat. Adhuc in hac sum sententia, nihil ut faciamus, nisi quod maxime Caesar velle videatur. Res sunt eiusmodi, ut, si Romae sis, nihil praeter tuos delectare te possit. De reliquis, nihil melius ipso est; ceteri et cetera eiusmodi, ut, si alterutrum necesse sit, audire ea malis, quam videre. Hoc nostrum consilium nobis minime iucundum est, qui te videre cupimus; sed consulimus tibi. Vale.





But anyhow, seeing that I have now avoided giving offence to one who, had I remained persistently silent, might have thought that I do not regard this as a constitutional government at all, I shall act in that respect with moderation, or even keep on the safe side of moderation, so as to serve his will without sacrificing my own inclinations.

For though every department of liberal erudition, and philosophy most of all, has been my delight from my earliest manhood, yet this prepossession of mine grows upon me day by day, partly, I suppose, because my age is ripening for the reception of wisdom, partly because the times are evil, so that there is nothing else that can ease my mind of its annoyances.

You, as I gather from your letter, are drawn away 5
from such studies by press of business; but still at this season of the year, the nights will help you considerably. Your, or rather *our* dear boy Servius, shows me the greatest deference and respect, and I am delighted as well with his general integrity and excellent character as with his studies and acquirements. He has many a talk with me about your staying on or quitting the province. So far my opinion holds, that we should do nothing but what we think Caesar most desires. Such is the situation here, that supposing you were at Rome, you could find no pleasure in anything except in your own people. As for the rest, nothing could be better than the great man himself; everybody and everything else is such that—well, if you had to make the choice, you would much rather hear about them than see them. It is no pleasure to me to give you this advice, as I am longing to see you; but I am thinking of what is best for you. Farewell.

## V

SER. SULPICIUS S. D. M. T. CICERONI

Athenis, A.U.C. 709.

1 Posteaquam mihi renuntiatum est de obitu Tulliae, filiae tuae, sane quam pro eo, ac debui, graviter molesteque tuli, communemque eam calamitatem existimavi; qui, si istic adfuissem, neque tibi defuissem coramque meum dolorem tibi declarassem. Etsi genus hoc consolationis miserum atque acerbum est—propterea quia, per quos ea confieri debet, propinquos ac familiares, ipsi pari molestia afficiuntur, neque sine lacrimis multis id conari possunt, uti magis ipsi videantur aliorum consolatione indigere, quam aliis posse suum officium praestare—tamen, quae in praesentia in mentem mihi venerunt, decrevi brevi ad te perscribere; non quo ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan dolore impeditus minus ea perspicias.

2 Quid est, quod tanto opere te commoveat tuus dolor intestinus? Cogita, quemadmodum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit; ea nobis erepta esse, quae hominibus non minus, quam liberi, cara esse debent—patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes. Hoc uno incommodo addito, quid ad dolorem adiungi potuit? aut qui non in illis rebus exercitatus animus cal-

[a] Tullia seems to have died early in 45 B.C., after the birth of a son. Dolabella had divorced her probably a short time before (Watson).





## V

SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS TO M. T. CICERO

Athens, middle of March, 45 B.C.

The announcement of the death of your daughter 1 Tullia,[a] which I duly received, was, believe me, as it was bound to be, a painful and bitter blow to me, and I regarded it as a calamity to both of us alike. Had I been there, I should not have failed you, and should have convinced you in person of my sympathy. Of course, any consolation of this kind is depressing, and even unpleasantly embarrassing, because the relatives and intimate friends, upon whom lies the duty of tendering it, are themselves bearing a like burden of sorrow, and cannot attempt the task without the shedding of many a tear, so that one would imagine that they themselves need others to console them, rather than that they can possibly discharge what is their own duty to others. But even so I have decided to set down in a short letter to you the thoughts that have occurred to me on the present occasion, not that I imagine they escape you, but because perhaps you are so blinded by grief, that you have a less clear perception of them.

What reason is there for your being so profoundly 2 distressed by a private sorrow affecting yourself? Consider how fortune has dealt with us hitherto, that we have been robbed of all that should be no less dear to men than their offspring—of country, of an honourable name, of position, of all the preferments of the state. How could this one new loss have added anything to your grief? Or what man's mind trained in such experience ought not now to be

3 lere iam debet, atque omnia minoris aestimare? An illius vicem, cedo,[1] doles? Quoties in eam cogitationem necesse est et tu veneris, et nos saepe incidimus, hisce temporibus non pessime cum iis esse actum, quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare? Quid autem fuit, quod illam hoc tempore ad vivendum magno opere invitare posset? quae res? quae spes? quod animi solatium? Ut cum aliquo adolescente primario coniuncta aetatem gereret? Licitum est tibi, credo, pro tua dignitate ex hac iuventute generum deligere, cuius fidei liberos tuos te tuto committere putares! An ut ea liberos ex sese pareret, quos quum florentes videret, laetaretur? qui rem a parente traditam per se tenere possent? honores ordinatim petituri essent, in republica, in amicorum negotiis, libertate sua usuri[2]? Quid horum fuit, quod non prius, quam datum esset, ademptum sit? At vero malum est liberos amittere. Malum; nisi peius
4 sit, haec sufferre et perpeti. Quae res mihi non mediocrem consolationem attulit, volo tibi commemorare, si forte eadem res tibi minuere dolorem possit. Ex Asia rediens cum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Aegina, ante Megara, dextra Piraeeus,

[1] *Tyrrell's clever emendation*: credo *codd.*: Cicero *Munro.*
[2] *Wesenberg*: uterentur *Ernesti.*

[a] Reid takes *callere* as meaning "to be wise," which certainly fits in better with the words that follow.
[b] For this rendering I am indebted to Dr. Rouse.





the reverse of sensitive,[a] and to regard all else as of less consideration?

Tell me, can it be for her that you are grieving? 3
How many times must you yourself have reflected —and the thought has often occurred to me—that in these times theirs is not the most cruel fate who have been permitted painlessly to make the change from life to death? What again was there at this time to offer her any strong inducement to live? What things seen, what hope of things not seen?[b] What solace for her soul? That she might spend her days as the consort of some young man of high rank? You think, I suppose, that it was open to you, in your high position, to choose from among the young men of this generation a son-in-law to whose protection you might confidently entrust any child of yours! Was it that she might become the mother of sons in whose brilliant success she might rejoice? Who might by their own merit maintain the position bequeathed them by her father? Who would be likely to stand for the offices of state in their due order? And to exercise their independence in politics and in promoting the interests of their friends? Has not each one of these promises been withdrawn before it was fulfilled? But, you will say, it is surely a calamity to lose one's children? It is—unless it be a worse calamity to endure and suffer all this.

There is an incident which brought me no slight 4
consolation, and I should like to tell you about it, in case it may be able to assuage your sorrow. On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Aegina towards Megara, I began to survey the regions round about. Behind me was Aegina, before me Megara,

sinistra Corinthus; quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum

> uno loco tot oppidum cadavera
> proiecta iaceant?

Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere, et meminisse, hominem te esse natum? Crede mihi, cogitatione ea non mediocriter sum confirmatus. Hoc idem, si tibi videtur, fac ante oculos tibi proponas. Modo uno tempore tot viri clarissimi interierunt; de imperio populi Romani tanta deminutio facta est; omnes provinciae conquassatae sunt; in unius mulierculae animula si iactura facta est, tanto opere commoveris? quae si hoc tempore non diem suum obisset, paucis post annis tamen ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat.

5 Etiam tu ab hisce rebus animum ac cogitationem tuam avoca, atque ea potius reminiscere, quae digna tua persona sunt: illam, quamdiu ei opus fuerit, vixisse; una cum republica fuisse; te, patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse; adulescentibus primariis nuptam fuisse; omnibus bonis prope perfunctam esse; cum respublica occideret, vita excessisse. Quid est, quod tu aut illa cum fortuna hoc

[a] Byron made the same voyage (see *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV. xliv.):

> Wandering in youth, I traced the path of him,
> The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind,
> The friend of Tully.

[b] Apparently a poetical quotation.





on my right the Piraeus, on my left Corinth,[a] towns at one time most flourishing, now lying prostrate and demolished before one's very eyes. I began to think to myself "So! we puny mortals resent it, do we, if one of us, whose lives are naturally shorter, has died in his bed or been slain in battle, when 'in this one land alone there lie flung down before us the corpses of so many towns[b]?' Pray control yourself, Servius, and remember that you were born a human being." Take my word for it, I was not a little fortified by that reflexion. This thought also, if you do not mind, be careful to set before your eyes. Not so long ago there perished at one and the same time many of our famous men; the imperial power of the Roman people has been terribly impaired; all the provinces have been shaken to their foundations; are you so profoundly moved by the loss of the spark of life in one weak woman? If she had not met her death to-day, she would in any event have had to die in a few years' time, seeing that she was born a human being.

You, like myself, must call your mind and thoughts 5
away from these subjects, and bethink yourself rather of what is worthy of the part you have to play, remembering that she lived as long as life was of use to her; that she and the Republic passed away together; that she saw you, her father, elected praetor, then consul, then augur; that she had been successively the bride of more than one youth of the highest rank,[c] that she enjoyed almost every blessing in life; and it was with the fall of the Republic that she ceased to live. What reason have either you or she for quarrelling with fortune on this score?

[c] She had married successively Piso, Crassipes, and Dolabella.

nomine queri possitis? Denique noli te oblivisci Ciceronem esse, et eum, qui aliis consueris praecipere et dare consilium; neque imitare malos medicos, qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt; sed potius, quae aliis praecipere soles, ea tute tibi subiice, atque
6 apud animum propone. Nullus dolor est, quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat. Hoc te exspectare tempus, ac non ei rei sapientia tua te occurrere, tibi turpe est. Quod si quis etiam inferis sensus est, qui illius in te amor fuit pietasque in omnes suos, hoc certe illa te facere non vult. Da hoc illi mortuae; da ceteris amicis ac familiaribus, qui tuo dolore maerent; da patriae; ut, si qua in re opus sit, opera et consilio tuo uti possit. Denique, quoniam in eam fortunam devenimus, ut etiam huic rei nobis serviendum sit, noli committere, ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam, quam reipublicae tempora et aliorum victoriam lugere. Plura me ad te de hac re scribere pudet, ne videar prudentiae tuae diffidere. Quare, si hoc unum proposuero, finem faciam scribendi. Vidimus aliquoties secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam, magnamque ex ea re te laudem apisci; fac aliquando intellegamus, adversam quoque te aeque





Finally, never forget that you are Cicero, one who has ever been wont to instruct and advise others; and do not imitate bad physicians who, in treating the diseases of others, profess to have mastered the whole art of healing, but themselves they cannot cure; nay, rather apply to yourself and set before your own mind the precepts you so often seek to impress upon others.

There is no grief that is not diminished and miti- 6
gated by the lapse of years. To await that lapse, instead of hastening to forestall the effect by applying your wisdom, is not creditable to you. But if there be any consciousness even among the dead, such was your daughter's love for yourself and affection for all her family, that this at any rate is not what she would have you do. Offer this as a tribute to her who has passed away; to your friends and comrades, for your sorrow is their own; to your country, so that if there be any need for it, she may have the benefit of your assistance and advice.

One last word—since fate has brought us to such a pass that we are compelled to give consideration even to such a matter—do not make the mistake of giving anybody grounds for suspecting that it is not so much your daughter's death that is the cause of your mourning, as the critical state of public affairs and the triumph of our opponents.

I am ashamed to write at greater length to you on this subject, lest I seem to have lost confidence in your good sense. Therefore, when I have put forward this one point, I will bring my letter to a close. We have observed on several occasions that you bear good fortune with admirable self-control, and thereby gain much credit; make a point of convincing us at last that you can bear misfortune equally

ferre posse, neque id maius, quam debeat, tibi onus videri, ne ex omnibus virtutibus haec una tibi videatur deesse. Quod ad me attinet, cum te tranquilliorem animo esse cognoro, de iis rebus, quae hic geruntur, quemadmodumque se provincia habeat, certiorem faciam. Vale.

## VI

M. T. C. S. D. SER. SULPICIO

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Ego vero, Servi, vellem, ut scribis, in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses. Quantum enim praesens me adiuvare potueris et consolando, et prope aeque dolendo, facile ex eo intelligo, quod, litteris lectis, aliquantum acquievi. Nam et ea scripsisti, quae levare luctum possent, et in me consolando non mediocrem ipse animi dolorem adhibuisti. Servius tamen tuus omnibus officiis, quae illi tempori tribui potuerunt, declaravit, et quanti ipse me faceret, et quam suum talem erga me animum tibi gratum putaret fore; cuius officia iucundiora licet saepe mihi fuerint, numquam tamen gratiora. Me autem non oratio tua solum et societas paene aegritudinis, sed etiam auctoritas consolatur. Turpe enim esse existimo, me





well, and that you do not think your burden heavier than you ought to think it, and so remove the impression that of all the virtues, this is the one virtue you lack.

For my part, when I discover that you are in a calmer state of mind, I shall inform you of what is being done here, and of the general condition of my province. Farewell.

## VI

CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS

Astura, middle of April, 45 B.C.

Yes, Servius, I could, indeed, have wished, as you say, that you had been by my side in my most grievous affliction. How much you could have helped me had you been with me, by comforting me and bearing an almost equal share of my grief, I can easily understand from the feeling of greater tranquillity which your letter gave me. For not only did you write what could assuage my grief, but in consoling me you showed no small sorrow of your own. Your son Servius, however, by doing me all the kindnesses that such an occasion could demand, made it plain how highly he esteemed me *himself*, and also how grateful he was sure *you* would be for such a proof of his affection for me; and though I have often felt greater pleasure in his good services, I have never been more grateful for them. 1

Now as regards myself, not only do I find comfort in your discourse, and in what I may call your partnership in my sickness of soul, but also in the influence of your personality; for I consider it dishonourable in me not to bear my affliction in the

non ita ferre casum meum, ut tu, tali sapientia praeditus, ferendum putas. Sed opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori, quod ea me solatia deficiunt, quae ceteris, quorum mihi exempla propono, simili in fortuna non defuerunt. Nam et Q. Maximus, qui filium consularem, clarum virum, et magnis rebus gestis, amisit, et L. Paullus, qui duo septem diebus, et vester Gallus et M. Cato, qui summo ingenio, summa virtute filium perdidit, iis temporibus fuerunt, ut eorum luctum ipsorum dignitas consolaretur ea,
2 quam ex republica consequebantur. Mihi autem, amissis ornamentis iis, quae ipse commemoras, quaeque eram maximis laboribus adeptus, unum manebat illud solatium, quod ereptum est. Non amicorum negotiis, non reipublicae procuratione impediebantur cogitationes meae; nihil in foro agere libebat[1]; aspicere curiam non poteram; existimabam, id quod erat, omnes me et industriae meae fructus et fortunae perdidisse. Sed cum cogitarem, haec mihi tecum et cum quibusdam esse communia, et cum frangerem iam ipse me cogeremque illa ferre toleranter, habebam, quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cuius in sermone et suavitate omnes curas doloresque deponerem. Nunc autem, hoc tam gravi vulnere, etiam illa, quae consanuisse videbantur, recrudescunt. Non

[1] *Oxford text*: *Nobbe* licebat.

[a] Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator. His son was consul with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 213 B.C.

[b] Son of the Paullus who fell at Cannae. He defeated Perseus at Pydna in 168. These two sons of his died about the time of his triumph.

[c] C. Sulpicius Gallus, who served under L. Paullus against Perseus, and was consul in 166.





way in which you, gifted as you are with such rare wisdom, think it ought to be borne. But now and then I feel crushed and hardly able to fight my grief, since I lack those consolations which those others on whose examples I fix my thoughts never, in similar circumstances, did lack.

Q. Maximus[a] lost a son of consular rank, a man of distinction and of splendid achievement; L. Paullus,[b] two sons within seven days; your kinsman Gallus[c] lost his, and M. Cato[d] was bereft of a son of consummate ability and gallantry; but then they lived when the times were such that their private grief was mitigated by the high positions they were winning for themselves in the service of the state. But in my 2
case, after the loss of all those distinctions which you specify, and which I had gained by the most strenuous exertions, there still remained that one solace which has now been torn from me. I had no friends' interests, no public responsibility to interrupt my broodings; it was no pleasure to me to do anything in the courts; as for the senate-house, I could not bear the sight of it; I began to think, and it was the fact, that I had been robbed of the fruits of all my hard work and success. But when I reflected that I but shared these misfortunes with yourself and certain others, and tried to break myself in, and force myself to bear it all with patience, I always had a sanctuary to flee to and a haven of rest; I had one whose sweet converse could help me to drop the burden of all my anxieties and sorrows. But as it is, so cruel is this new wound, that the old wounds, too, which I thought had entirely healed, are breaking out afresh. For

[d] The censor. His son was *praetor designatus* when he died in 153.

enim, ut tum me a republica maestum domus excipiebat, quae levaret, sic nunc domo maerens ad rempublicam confugere possum, ut in eius bonis acquiescam. Itaque et domo absum, et foro, quod nec eum dolorem, quem e republica capio, domus iam
3 consolari potest, nec domesticum respublica. Quo magis te exspecto teque videre quam primum cupio. Maior mihi levatio afferri nulla potest, quam coniunctio consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum; quamquam[1] sperabam tuum adventum (sic enim audiebam) appropinquare. Ego autem quum multis de causis te exopto quam primum videre, tum etiam, ut ante commentemur inter nos, qua ratione nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus, quod est totum ad unius voluntatem accommodandum, et prudentis, et liberalis, et (ut perspexisse videor) nec a me alieni, et tibi amicissimi. Quod cum ita sit, magnae est tamen deliberationis, quae ratio sit ineunda nobis, non agendi aliquid, sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi.

## VII

M. T. C. S. D. M. MARCELLO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Etsi eo te adhuc consilio usum intellego, ut id reprehendere non audeam, non quin ab eo ipse dis-

[1] *Tyrrell with Reid*: *some prefer* iamiam.

[a] See note on iv. 4. 3.





whereas in those days when depressed by the ills of the state, I had a house to welcome me where I could be comforted, now, depressed as I may be, I cannot flee from my house and take refuge in the state, to find repose in her prosperity. And so I absent myself both from my home and from the courts, since neither can the sorrow the state causes me any longer be consoled by my home life, nor the sorrow of my home by the state.

All the more do I look forward to your visiting me, 3
and I am anxious to see you at the earliest possible date. Nothing could afford me greater relief than the renewal of our intimacy and conversations; and indeed, I hope that your arrival is, as I am told, close at hand. Now I am most wishful to see you for many reasons, but particularly so that we may discuss together beforehand what must be our line of conduct, in passing through this period during which we must adapt ourselves unreservedly to the inclinations of one man, but one who is not only far-sighted but liberal and (as I think I have assured myself) no enemy to me and a sincere friend to you. But though that is so, it is still a matter for serious deliberation what line we should take, not in the way of public action, but of leading, by his gracious permission, a quiet life.

## VII

M. T. CICERO TO M. MARCELLUS[a]

Rome, September, 46 B.C.

Though I quite understand that your policy has 1
hitherto been such that I should not venture to take exception to it—not that I myself agree with it, but

sentiam, sed quod ea te sapientia esse iudicem, ut meum consilium non anteponam tuo, tamen et amicitiae nostrae vetustas, et tua summa erga me benevolentia, quae mihi iam a pueritia tua cognita est, me hortata est, ut ea scriberem ad te, quae et saluti tuae conducere arbitrarer, et non aliena esse
2 ducerem a dignitate. Ego eum te esse, qui horum malorum initia multo ante videris, consulatum magnificentissime atque optime gesseris, praeclare memini; sed idem etiam illa vidi, neque te consilium civilis belli ita gerendi, neque copias Cn. Pompei nec genus exercitus probare semperque summe diffidere. Qua in sententia me quoque fuisse, memoria tenere te arbitror. Itaque neque tu multum interfuisti rebus gerendis, et ego id semper egi, ne interessem. Non enim iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quae erant in nobis superiora, sed lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non eramus. Victi sumus igitur, aut, si vinci dignitas non potest, fracti certe et abiecti. In quo tuum consilium nemo potest non maxime laudare, quod cum spe vincendi simul abiecisti certandi etiam cupiditatem, ostendistique sapientem et bonum civem initia

[a] See Chron. Sum. 48 B.C.





because you are in my judgment a man of such wisdom that I should be sorry to prefer my own opinion to yours—still the long duration of our friendship, and your extraordinary kindness to me, which I have recognized ever since you were a boy, have prompted me to write and tell you what I thought conducive to your personal welfare, and considered not incompatible with your dignity.

That you were the man who anticipated with re- 2
markable foresight the beginnings of these calamities, who administered the consulship with such magnificence and efficiency—of that I have a very vivid recollection; but at the same time I observed this too, that you disapproved of the plan of campaign in the civil war, and of Pompey's troops and the composition of his army, and that you always utterly distrusted it; and I think it is within your recollection that I, too, held that opinion.[a] You, therefore, took no great part in the campaign, and I always made a point of taking no part at all. For we were not fighting with the weapons which might have given us strength, such as judgment, the weight of personality, or the soundness of our cause, in all of which we were superior, but with the brute force of our muscles, in which we were no match for our adversaries. We were consequently defeated, or, if worth knows no defeat, we were at any rate crushed and humiliated. And here it is impossible for any man not to commend most cordially your decision, as soon as you saw there was no hope of victory, to cast out of your heart every desire to continue the struggle, proving thereby that a wise man and honest citizen, while he hesitates to be responsible for the inception of a civil

belli civilis invitum suscipere, extrema libenter non
3 persequi. Qui non idem consilium, quod tu, secuti sunt, eos video in duo genera esse distractos. Aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt, hique se in Africam contulerunt, aut, quemadmodum nos, victori sese crediderunt. Medium quoddam tuum consilium fuit, qui hoc fortasse humilis animi duceres, illud pertinacis. Fateor, a plerisque, vel dicam ab omnibus, sapiens tuum consilium, a multis etiam magni ac fortis animi iudicatum. Sed habet ista ratio, ut mihi quidem videtur, quemdam modum, praesertim cum tibi nihil deesse arbitrer ad tuas fortunas omnes obtinendas praeter voluntatem. Sic enim intellexi, nihil aliud esse, quod dubitationem afferret ei, penes quem est potestas, nisi quod vereretur, ne tu illud beneficium omnino non putares. De quo quid sentiam, nihil attinet dicere, cum appareat, ipse quid fecerim.
4 Sed tametsi iam ita constituisses, ut abesse perpetuo malles, quam ea, quae nolles, videre, tamen id cogitare deberes, ubicumque esses, te fore in eius ipsius, quem fugeres, potestate. Qui si facile passurus esset te, carentem patria et fortunis tuis, quiete et libere vivere, cogitandum tibi tamen esset, Romaene et domi tuae, cuicuimodi res esset, an





war, has no hesitation in refusing to carry it through to the bitter end.

I see that those who did not adopt the same policy 3
as yourself have split up into two sections; either they attempted to renew hostilities (and these are they who betook themselves to Africa), or else, just as I did myself, they threw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror; your policy was a kind of compromise, because you perhaps thought that the latter course showed a cringing, and the former a stubborn, spirit. I quite admit that your policy was deemed a wise one by most people, or shall I say by all?—and many even thought it showed a great and gallant spirit. But, if I may say what I think, the course you have adopted has its limitations, especially as I am sure that the one thing you lack to retain all your possessions is the will to do so; for I have come to the conclusion that there is but one thing which causes our omnipotent friend to hesitate, and that is his fear that you would not regard your recall as an act of kindness at all. What I think about it there is no need for me to tell you; you can see for yourself what my own conduct has been.

But even if you had already made up your mind 4
that you would sooner be away all your days than witness what was revolting to you, you should yet reflect that wherever you were you would still be at the mercy of the very man from whom you were trying to escape. And though he were likely to raise no objection whatever to your living in peace and independence as long as you were cut off from your country and property, you would still have to consider whether you would prefer to live at Rome and in your own house, whatever the conditions

Mitylenis aut Rhodi malles vivere. Sed cum ita late pateat eius potestas, quem veremur, ut terrarum orbem complexa sit, nonne mavis sine periculo tuae domi esse, quam cum periculo alienae? Equidem, etiamsi oppetenda mors esset, domi atque in patria mallem, quam in externis atque alienis locis. Hoc idem omnes, qui te diligunt, sentiunt, quorum est magna pro tuis maximis clarissimisque virtutibus multitudo.
5 Habemus etiam rationem rei familiaris tuae, quam dissipari nolumus. Nam etsi nullam potest accipere iniuriam, quae futura perpetua sit, propterea, quod neque is, qui tenet rempublicam, patietur, neque ipsa respublica, tamen impetum praedonum in tuas fortunas fieri nolo. Hi autem qui essent, auderem
6 scribere, nisi te intellegere confiderem. Hic te unius sollicitudines, unius etiam multae et assiduae lacrimae C. Marcelli, fratris optimi, deprecantur; nos cura et dolore proximi sumus, precibus tardiores, quod ius adeundi, cum ipsi deprecatione eguerimus, non habemus. Gratia tantum possumus, quantum victi; sed tamen consilio, studio Marcello non desumus. A tuis reliquis non adhibemur; ad omnia parati sumus.

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[a] Possibly, as Manutius thinks, the relatives of M. Marcellus (other than his cousin C. Marcellus, mentioned below). An instance of the seizure of Pompeians' property at this time is the seizure of Varro's house at Casinum by Antony (*Phil.* ii. 103). Tyrrell.

[b] Three of the Marcelli were consuls in three successive years, Marcus, who writes this letter, in 51, Gaius, his first cousin, in 50, and Gaius, his brother, in 49. As the second Gaius, the brother of Marcus, appears to have died in 48, the C. Marcellus to whom Cicero here refers must almost certainly be M. Marcellus's cousin, and not his brother, *frater* being used elsewhere also by Cicero for "a first cousin."





might be, or either at Mitylene or in Rhodes. But, seeing that the power of the man we dread is so widespread as to have embraced the whole world, would you not rather reside without danger in your own house than reside with danger in the house of another? For my own part, I would sooner be at home and in my own country, even if it meant my facing death, than in any strange and foreign land. This is what all those feel who are fond of you; and as might be expected from your very great and distinguished merits, their number is great.

I am also concerned for your private property, 5
which I should be sorry to see dissipated; it is true that it can suffer no damage likely to be permanent, for that will not be permitted either by him who rules the Republic, nor by the Republic itself; but apart from that I don't want to see an assault of brigands upon your estate. Who these brigands are,[a] I should make bold to tell you now, were I not sure that you are well aware of them.

At Rome there is, above all others, one man whose 6
anxious efforts, one man whose copious and unceasing tears are ever interceding for you—your excellent cousin, C. Marcellus[b]; in solicitude and sorrow I come next, in entreaties I lag behind him, not having the right of entry, because I stand in need of intercession myself,[c] and I have only such influence as a defeated man may command. But for all that, in the way of counsel and active devotion I am still loyal to Marcellus. By the rest of your relatives I am not called into consultation; there is nothing I am not prepared for.

[c] That Cicero had no personal intercourse with Caesar at this time is evident from iv. 13. 6, and vi. 13. 3.

## VIII

M. T. C. S. D. M. MARCELLO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Neque monere te audeo, praestanti prudentia virum, nec confirmare maximi animi hominem unumque fortissimum, consolari vero nullo modo. Nam si ea, quae acciderunt, ita fers, ut audio, gratulari magis virtuti debeo, quam consolari dolorem tuum. Sin te tanta mala reipublicae frangunt, non ita abundo ingenio, ut te consoler, cum ipse me non possim. Reliquum est igitur, ut tibi me in omni re eum praebeam praestemque, et ad omnia, quae tui velint, ita adsim praesto, ut me non solum omnia debere tua causa, quae possim, sed etiam ea quae non possim,[1]
2 putem. Illud tamen vel tu me monuisse vel censuisse puta, vel propter benevolentiam tacere non potuisse, ut, quod ego facio, tu quoque animum inducas, si sit aliqua respublica, in ea te esse oportere, iudicio hominum reque principem, necessitate cedentem tempori; sin autem nulla sit, hunc tamen aptissimum esse etiam ad exsulandum locum. Si enim libertatem sequimur, qui locus hoc dominatu vacat? sin qualemcumque locum, quae est domestica sede

[1] *I have here adopted a reading suggested by Page.*





## VIII

TO THE SAME

Rome, September, 46 B.C.

I can neither venture to advise a man of such exceptional sagacity as yourself, nor to encourage one of such high spirit and unequalled fortitude, and as for offering you consolation, it is out of the question. For if you are bearing what has happened as I hear you are, I ought rather to felicitate you on your manliness than to console you in your grief. But if you are being crushed by the terrible calamities of the Republic, I have not such a superabundance of ingenuity as to comfort you when I cannot comfort myself. It remains then that I should so order my conduct in the present and in the future, and be so constantly on the alert to further all your friends' desires, as to prove my belief that I owe you in the advancement of your cause not only all that is within my power, but even what is beyond it also. 1

Anyhow, please take it either as my advice to you, or my definite opinion, or as something which out of kindness I could not suppress, when I urge you to resolve, like myself, that, if there be a Republic, it is incumbent upon you—a leading man both in fame and fact—to take your place in it, yielding to the irresistible pressure of circumstances; but if there be no Republic, you should still believe that this is the most suitable place for you to live in, even as an exile. For if liberty is what we are after, what place is not subject to this tyranny? if we are seeking any place of whatsoever kind, where 2

iucundior? Sed mihi crede, etiam is, qui omnia tenet, favet ingeniis; nobilitatem vero et dignitates hominum, quantum ei res et ipsius causa concedit, amplectitur. Sed plura, quam statueram. Redeo ergo ad unum illud, me tuum esse, fore cum tuis, si modo erunt tui; si minus, me certe in omnibus rebus satis nostrae coniunctioni amorique facturum. Vale.

## IX

M. T. C. S. D. M. MARCELLO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Etsi perpaucis ante diebus dederam Q. Mucio litteras ad te pluribus verbis scriptas, quibus declaraveram, quo te animo censerem esse oportere, et quid tibi faciendum arbitrarer, tamen, quum Theophilus, libertus tuus, proficisceretur, cuius ego fidem erga te benevolentiamque perspexeram, sine meis litteris eum ad te venire nolui. Iisdem igitur te rebus etiam atque etiam hortor, quibus superioribus litteris hortatus sum, ut in ea republica, quaecumque est, quam primum velis esse. Multa videbis fortasse, quae nolis; non plura tamen, quam audis quotidie. Non





could one settle more pleasantly than in one's own home? But take my word for it, even he who is the master of the world has a partiality for men of ability; certainly, so far as circumstances and his own interests allow him to do so, he cordially welcomes noble birth and men of high position. But I have written at greater length than I intended. I return therefore to the one dominant fact that I am your friend, and that I shall stand by your friends, if only they prove themselves your friends. If not, I shall at any rate satisfy in every respect the claims of our close intimacy and mutual affection. Farewell.

## IX

TO THE SAME

Rome, September, 46 B.C.

Though it is but a very few days since I gave 1
Q. Mucius a somewhat long letter for you, in which I made it plain what I believed should be your resolve, and what I thought you should do, still, when your freedman Theophilus, of whose loyalty and goodwill towards yourself I had satisfied myself, was setting out, I felt sorry that he should reach you without a letter from me. Repeating, therefore, the arguments I used in my former letter of exhortation, I exhort you again and again to decide to take your place as soon as possible as a member of the Republic, whatever it is. You will perhaps see much to which you may object, but still not worse than you hear every day. Besides, it is not characteristic

est porro tuum, uno sensu solum oculorum moveri; cum idem illud auribus percipias, quod etiam maius
2 videri solet, minus laborare. At tibi ipsi dicendum erit aliquid, quod non sentias, aut faciendum, quod non probes. Primum tempori cedere, id est necessitati parere, semper sapientis est habitum. Deinde non habet, ut nunc quidem est, id viti res. Dicere fortasse, quae sentias, non licet; tacere plane licet. Omnia enim delata ad unum sunt. Is utitur consilio, ne suorum quidem, sed suo. Quod non multo secus fieret, si is rempublicam teneret, quem secuti sumus. An, qui in bello, cum omnium nostrum coniunctum esset periculum, suo et certorum hominum minime prudentium consilio uteretur, eum magis communem censemus in victoria futurum fuisse, quam incertis in rebus fuisset? et, qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset, nec, fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente, vobis auctoribus uti voluerit, nunc omnia tenentem nostras sententias
3 desideraturum censes fuisse? Omnia sunt misera in bellis civilibus, quae maiores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra aetas saepe iam sensit; sed miserius

[a] The whole paragraph of course refers to Pompey.
[b] Or "more accessible."





of you to be moved by the sense of sight alone, and to be less distressed when the same fact reaches you by hearsay, when it often appears even worse than it is.

But (you will argue) you, like the rest of us, will 2
have to say something you do not feel, and do something you do not approve. In the first place, it has ever been considered the mark of a wise man to yield to circumstances, in other words, to bow to the inevitable; in the second place, as matters now stand, things are not as bad as all that. Perhaps you are not at liberty to say what you think, but you are quite at liberty to say nothing. For all power has been put in the hands of one man, who follows no man's advice but his own, not even that of his own friends.

And it would have been much the same, if he[a] whom we followed were in charge of the Republic. Can we possibly suppose that the man who in time of war, when we were all united by a common danger, took counsel of himself alone and a notorious clique of exceedingly indiscreet advisers, would have been likely to be less self-centred[b] in the hour of his triumph than he had been when the issue was in the balance? And can you suppose that he who neither followed your excellently wise advice when you were consul, nor when your cousin discharged the functions of consul with your support, was inclined to avail himself of the counsel of either of you, would now, if he held everything in his hands, have been likely to desire the expression of our opinions?

All is misery in civil wars; our ancestors never 3
even once had that experience; our generation has already had it several times; but nothing is more

nihil, quam ipsa victoria, quae etiamsi ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociores impotentioresque reddit ; ut, etiamsi natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur. Multa enim victori eorum arbitrio, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt. An tu non videbas mecum simul, quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria ? Igitur tunc quoque patria careres, ne, quae nolles, videres ? Non, inquies ; ego enim ipse tenerem opes et dignitatem meam. At erat tuae virtutis in minimis tuas res ponere, de republica vehementius laborare. Deinde, qui finis istius consili est ? Nam adhuc et factum tuum probatur, et, ut in tali re, etiam fortuna laudatur—factum, quod et initium belli necessario secutus sis et extrema sapienter persequi nolueris ; fortuna, quod honesto otio tenueris et statum et famam dignitatis tuae. Nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria ; nec eam diligere minus debes, quod deformior est, sed misereri potius, nec eam, multis claris viris orbatam, privare etiam aspectu
4 tuo. Denique, si fuit magni animi, non isse suppli-





miserable than victory itself; for though it falls to the better men, it nevertheless makes those very men more arrogant and less self-controlled, so that even if they are not so by nature, they are compelled to be so by necessity. For there are many things a victor is obliged to do even against his will at the caprice of those who helped him to victory. You must have seen, at the time I saw it, how ruthless this victory was destined to prove ; would you then at that time also have made an exile of yourself to prevent your seeing what was objectionable to you ? " No," you will say, " for I should still have been in possession of my wealth and position." Yes, but it behoved one of your high principles to regard your own private interests as comparatively of very little importance, and to be more deeply distressed at the state of the Republic. Again, what is to be the final issue of this policy of yours ? For so far your conduct is approved, and your good fortune, too, considering the circumstances, is extolled — your conduct, in that, compelled as you were to follow the call of the war in its initial stage, you wisely declined to follow it up to the bitter end ; your good fortune, in that you have maintained in an honourable retirement both the dignity and the reputation of your exalted rank. Now, however, there is no place in the world that should hold a greater charm for you than your country ; and you ought not to love her any the less, but rather pity her, because of her disfigurement, and not to deprive her, bereft as she is of so many distinguished sons, of the light of your countenance as well.

Finally, if it was the mark of a high spirit not to 4
have approached the conqueror as a suppliant, may

cem victori, vide ne superbi sit aspernari eiusdem liberalitatem, et, si sapientis est, carere patria, duri non desiderare; et, si re publica non possis frui, stultum est, nolle privata. Caput est illud, ut, si ista vita tibi commodior esse videatur, cogitandum tamen sit, ne tutior non sit. Magna gladiorum est licentia; sed in externis locis minor etiam ad facinus verecundia. Mihi salus tua tantae curae est, ut Marcello, fratri tuo, aut par aut certe proximus sim. Tuum est consulere temporibus et incolumitati et vitae et fortunis tuis.

## X

M. T. C. S. D. M. MARCELLO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Etsi nihil erat novi, quod ad te scriberem, magisque litteras tuas iam exspectare incipiebam vel te potius ipsum, tamen, cum Theophilus proficisceretur, non potui nihil ei litterarum dare. Cura igitur, ut quam primum venias; venies enim, mihi crede, exspectatus, neque solum nobis, id est tuis, sed prorsus omnibus. Venit enim mihi in mentem, sub-
2 vereri interdum, ne te delectet tarda decessio. Quod





it not possibly be the mark of a haughty spirit to spurn that same conqueror's generosity, and if it be the act of a philosopher to forgo one's country, may it not be a proof of sheer callousness not to yearn for her? And if by any chance you are unable to enjoy a public life, it is surely senseless to refuse to enjoy a private one. The main point is this, that if you think your present life is more comfortable, you still have to consider whether it is not less safe. There is no limit to the licence of the sword, but in foreign countries there is even less scruple in committing a crime. For myself, so anxious am I about your safety that I am on a par with your cousin Marcellus, or at any rate I come next to him. For you it remains to make the best of your opportunities and to take thought for your rights as a citizen, your life, and your property.

## X

TO THE SAME

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

Though I have no news to tell you, and am begin- 1
ning to look forward more to a letter from you, or rather your arrival in person, still, as Theophilus is setting out, I felt it impossible to give him nothing in the way of a letter. Take care then to come as soon as possible; for believe me, your coming will end a period of eager expectancy, not only among us, by which I mean your friends, but among all without exception. For it sometimes occurs to me to have a lurking apprehension that the delay in your leaving for home is not displeasing to you.

si nullum haberes sensum, nisi oculorum, prorsus tibi ignoscerem, si quosdam nolles videre; sed cum leviora non multo essent, quae audirentur, quam quae viderentur, suspicarer autem multum interesse rei familiaris tuae, te quam primum venire, idque in omnes partes valeret, putavi ea de re te esse admonendum. Sed quoniam, quid mihi placeret, ostendi, reliqua tu pro tua prudentia considerabis. Me tamen velim, quod ad tempus te exspectemus, certiorem facias.

## XI

### M. MARCELLUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Mitylenis, A.U.C. 708.

1 Plurimum valuisse apud me tuam semper auctoritatem cum in omni re, tum in hoc maxime negotio, potes existimare. Cum mihi C. Marcellus, frater amantissimus mei, non solum consilium daret, sed precibus quoque me obsecraret, non prius mihi persuadere potuit, quam tuis est effectum literis, ut uterer vestro potissimum consilio. Res quemadmodum sit acta, vestrae litterae mihi declarant. Gratulatio tua etsi est mihi probatissima, quod ab optimo fit animo, tamen hoc mihi multo iucundius est et

[a] Cicero's letter to M. Marcellus, giving an account of the debate in the Senate about his recall, to which this letter is an answer, has been lost.





Well, if you possessed no single sense but that of 2
vision, I should quite forgive you for objecting to the sight of certain folk; but since what is heard is not much less offensive than what is seen, and since, moreover, I suspected that your earliest possible arrival was greatly to the interest of your private estate, and indeed, was of importance from every point of view, why, then I thought you should have some warning to that effect. But now that I have offered you my own opinion, you will consider with your usual sagacity what remains to be done. I should like you to inform me, however, about what time we are to expect you.

## XI

### M. MARCELLUS TO CICERO

Mitylene, middle of October, 46 B.C.

You can easily believe that the weight of your 1
judgement has ever had the greatest influence with me on every occasion, but most particularly in this last transaction. Though my cousin C. Marcellus, who is most devoted to me, not only advised me but urged me with prayers and entreaties as well, he failed to convince me, until your letter[a] definitely decided me to follow your advice and his, in preference to any other. You both give me in your letters a clear account of the way the matter was carried through. Of course, your felicitations are most acceptable to me, for they spring from a heart of gold, but what is far more delightful and flatter-

gratius, quod in summa paucitate amicorum, propinquorum ac necessariorum, qui vere meae saluti faverent, te cupidissimum mei singularemque mihi
2 benevolentiam praestitisse cognovi. Reliqua sunt eiusmodi, quibus ego, quoniam haec erant tempora, facile et aequo animo carebam; hoc vero eiusmodi esse statuo, ut sine talium virorum et amicorum benevolentia neque in adversa neque in secunda fortuna quisquam vivere possit. Itaque in hoc ego mihi gratulor. Tu vero ut intellegas, homini amicissimo te tribuisse officium, re tibi praestabo.

## XII

SER. SULPICIUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Athenis, A.U.C. 709.

1 Etsi scio non iucundissimum nuntium me vobis allaturum, tamen, quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum est faciendum, quoquo modo res se haberet, vos certiores facere. A. d. x. Kal. Iun. cum ab Epidauro Piraeeum navi advectus essem, ibi Marcellum, collegam nostrum, conveni, eumque diem

[a] See iv. 1. 1, note.
[b] On the east coast of Argolis, where Sulpicius had probably been on circuit as Governor of Greece.
[c] As consul in 51 B.C.; or it may mean "our colleague as *augur*."





ing to me is the fact that amid the depressing paucity of such friends, relations, or connexions as would sincerely support my restoration, I have discovered that you in particular have desired my return and have given me an extraordinary proof of your friendly feeling.

The other inducements to return were such as 2
you specified; but the times being what they are, I could readily resign myself to going without them. This last transaction, however, is such as to leave me convinced that without the sympathy of such men and such friends as yourself, nobody, whether in adversity or in prosperity, can find life worth living. On this, therefore, I congratulate myself. But to dispel any doubt on your part that the man upon whom you have conferred this favour is your most sincere friend, of that I mean to give you some practical proof.

## XII

SERVIUS SULPICIUS[a] TO M. T. CICERO

Athens, May 31, 45 B.C.

Though I am aware that the news I am about to 1
tell you is not of the pleasantest, still, seeing that our lives are under the despotic sway of chance no less than of nature, I decided that it was my duty to inform you all of what has occurred, however painful the circumstances. On the 23rd May, having arrived on board ship at the Piraeus from the district of Epidaurus,[b] I there met Marcellus, my former colleague,[c] and I spent the whole day there to have the pleasure

ibi consumpsi, ut cum eo essem. Postero die cum ab eo digressus essem eo consilio, ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem, reliquamque iurisdictionem absolverem, ille, ut aiebat, ὑπὲρ Μαλέας in Italiam versus
2 navigaturus erat. Post diem tertium eius diei, cum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris eius, ad me venit et mihi nuntiavit M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post coenae tempus a P. Magio Cilone, familiare eius, pugione percussum esse et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho, alterum in capite secundum aurem; sperare tamen se, eum vivere posse; Magium seipsum interfecisse postea; se a Marcello ad me missum esse, qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret, uti medicos cogerem. Coegi et e vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Cum non longe a Piraeeo abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum paullo ante lucem Marcellum diem suum obiisse. Ita vir clarissimus ab homine taeterrimo acerbissima morte est affectus; et, cui inimici propter dignitatem pepercerant, inventus
3 est amicus, qui mortem afferret. Ego tamen ad tabernaculum eius perrexi. Inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos; reliquos aiebant profugisse, metu perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica, qua ipse delatus eram, meisque lecticariis in urbem

[a] The S.E. promontory of Laconia.

[b] About 3 A.M.

[c] See note c on p. 300.

[d] Cicero suggests that Cilo murdered Marcellus for refusing to help him in some money difficulties. Both Cicero and Brutus denied that Cilo had been instigated by Caesar.

[e] They were afraid of being punished, either as accomplices, or because they had not defended their master.





of his company. On the following day, when I parted from him with the intention of going from the neighbourhood of Athens into Boeotia and clearing off the arrears of my judicial business, he was about to sail, he told me, round Cape Malea [a] towards Italy.

On the next day but one, when it was my intention 2
to set out from near Athens, about the tenth hour of the night [b] P. Postumius, an intimate friend of his, came to me and brought me the news that M. Marcellus, my former colleague,[c] just after his dinner hour, had been stabbed with a dagger by P. Magius Cilo,[d] an intimate friend of his, and that he had received two wounds, one in the gullet, the other in the head, just behind the ear, though my informant added that he hoped that he might recover; that Magius had subsequently committed suicide; that he himself had been despatched by Marcellus, to inform me of this, and to beg of me to summon some physicians. I summoned them, and immediately started for the place in the early dawn. I was not far from the Piraeus, when I was met by Acidinus's servant, bearing a note, in which he stated that Marcellus had passed away shortly before dawn. In this way was a man of the highest distinction done most cruelly to death by the vilest of men; and one who had been spared for his high deserts by his foes, found his murderer in a friend.

However, I hurried onwards to his tent; and there 3
I found two freedmen, and perhaps a slave or two; they told me the others had fled in a panic of apprehension, because (as they argued) their master had been slain in front of his own tent.[e] I was obliged to bring him back to the city in the same litter as had brought me there myself, using my own bearers;

eum referre; ibique pro ea copia, quae Athenis erat, funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi. Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti, in quo vellemus gymnasio, eum sepeliremus, nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbis terrarum gymnasio Academiae locum delegimus, ibique eum combussimus, posteaque curavimus, ut iidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum faciendum locarent. Ita, quae nostra officia fuerunt, pro collegio et propinquitate, et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus. Vale.

## XIII

M. T. C. S. D. P. NIGIDIO FIGULO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quaerenti mihi iamdiu, quid ad te potissimum scriberem, non modo certa res nulla, sed ne genus quidem litterarum usitatum veniebat in mentem. Unam enim partem et consuetudinem earum epistolarum, quibus, secundis rebus, uti solebamus, tempus eripuerat; perfeceratque fortuna, ne quid

[a] Where Plato taught, on the north side of Athens.

[b] He was considered, next after Varro, the most learned man in Rome, especially in natural science and astronomy. He served Cicero well at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and was praetor in 58. He sided with Pompey in the Civil War, and died in exile the year after this letter was written.

[c] He means the "intimate and jocular" (*familiare et iocosum*) style of writing, to which he refers in ii. 4. 1.





and there, considering the resources available at Athens, the funeral I took some pains to arrange for him was quite a handsome one.

I could not prevail upon the Athenians to make a grant of any burial ground within the city, as they alleged that they were prevented from doing so by their religious regulations; anyhow, we must admit that it was a concession they had never yet made to anybody. They did allow us to do what was the next best thing, to inter him in the precincts of any *gymnasium* we chose. We selected a spot near the most famous *gymnasium* in the whole world, that of the Academe,[a] and it was there we cremated the body, and after that arranged that the Athenians should also ask for tenders for the erection on the same spot of a marble monument in his honour. Thus have I discharged in his death as in his life all the duties he could claim from one who was his colleague and his familiar friend. Farewell.

## XIII

M. T. CICERO TO P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS[b]

Rome, August or September, 46 B.C.

I have been asking myself for some time past what I had best write to you; but not only does no definite theme suggest itself, but even the conventional style of letter-writing does not appeal to me. For one customary branch of correspondence in vogue among us when all was well,[c] has been torn away from us by the hardship of the times, and fortune has effectually debarred me from writing or 1

tale scribere possem, aut omnino cogitare. Relinquebatur triste quoddam et miserum, et his temporibus consentaneum genus litterarum; id quoque deficiebat me; in quo debebat esse aut promissio auxili alicuius, aut consolatio doloris tui. Quod pollicerer, non erat. Ipse enim, pari fortuna abiectus, aliorum opibus casus meos sustentabam, saepiusque mihi veniebat in mentem queri, quod ita viverem, quam gau-
2 dere, quod viverem. Quamquam enim nulla me ipsum privatim pepulit insignis iniuria, nec mihi quidquam tali tempore in mentem venit optare, quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit, tamen nihilominus eis conficior curis, ut ipsum, quod maneam in vita, peccare me existimem. Careo enim cum familiarissimis multis, quos aut mors eripuit nobis aut distraxit fuga, tum omnibus amicis, quorum benevolentiam nobis conciliarat per me quondam, te socio, defensa respublica, versorque in eorum naufragiis et bonorum direptionibus; nec audio solum, quod ipsum esset miserum, sed etiam video, quo nihil est acerbius eorum fortunas dissipari, quibus nos olim adiutoribus illud incendium exstinximus; et, in qua urbe modo gratia, auctoritate, gloria floruimus, in ea nunc iis quidem omnibus caremus. Obtinemus

[a] This refers to Figulus's support of Cicero in the Catilinarian conspiracy.





even contemplating anything of the kind. There still remained a certain style of correspondence appropriate to these times of ours in its gloom and melancholy; but I cannot fall back even upon that. For even that should surely convey either the promise of some substantial help or some consolation for your grief. I have no promise to make; for humiliated as I am by a misfortune like your own, it is only by extraneous assistance that I bear the weight of my afflictions, and my heart is more often inclined to deplore the conditions, than to rejoice in the fact, of my being alive.

Although I have not myself personally been the 2
victim of any particularly glaring act of injustice, and though it has never occurred to me even under present conditions to desire anything which Caesar has not spontaneously bestowed upon me, still none the less, so crushing are my anxieties, that I do not think I am acting aright even in remaining alive at all. For I have lost not only numbers of my most intimate friends, either torn away from me by death, or dragged from my side by banishment, but also all those friends whose affection I had won by the part I once played, in conjunction with yourself,[a] in the successful defence of the Republic; and all around me I see the shipwrecks of their fortunes and the pillaging of their possessions; and not only do I hear of it, which would in itself be a misery to me, but I actually see, and it is the most distressing sight in the world, the squandering of the property of those men with whose assistance we once extinguished that awful conflagration; and in the very city in which but lately I was richly blessed in popularity, influence, and fame, of all that there is now nothing left me.

ipsius Caesaris summam erga nos humanitatem. Sed ea plus non potest, quam vis et mutatio omnium
3 rerum atque temporum. Itaque orbus iis rebus omnibus, quibus et natura me et voluntas et consuetudo assuefecerat, cum ceteris, ut quidem videor, tum mihi ipse displiceo. Natus enim ad agendum semper aliquid dignum viro, nunc non modo agendi rationem nullam habeo, sed ne cogitandi quidem; et, qui antea aut obscuris hominibus, aut etiam sontibus opitulari poteram, nunc P. Nigidio, uni omnium doctissimo et sanctissimo, et maxima quondam gratia, et mihi certe amicissimo, ne benigne quidem polliceri possum. Ergo hoc ereptum est litterarum genus.
4 Reliquum est, ut consoler et afferam rationes, quibus te a molestiis coner abducere. At ea quidem facultas vel tui vel alterius consolandi in te summa est, si umquam in ullo fuit. Itaque eam partem, quae ab exquisita quadam ratione et doctrina proficiscitur, non attingam; tibi totam relinquam. Quid sit forti et sapienti homine dignum, quid gravitas, quid altitudo animi, quid acta tua vita, quid studia, quid artes, quibus a pueritia floruisti, a te flagitent, tu videbis. Ego, quod intellegere et sentire, quia sum Romae et





I do continue to enjoy Caesar's extreme courtesy to me; but that cannot counterbalance violence and revolution in every relation of life and in the times themselves.

And so, bereft of all to which I had become 3
habituated by my natural disposition, inclinations, and daily life, I am not only a nuisance to others, as I am sure I am, but even to myself. For though it is my very nature to be ever engrossed in some important work worthy of a man, I have now not only no scheme of action, but not even a scheme of thought. And while hitherto I have been in a position to offer my assistance to obscure or even guilty men, I am now not in a position to make even a promise of kindness to Publius Nigidius, incomparably the most learned and most virtuous of men, at one time a universal favourite and to me assuredly the best of friends. So that style of letter-writing has been plucked out of my reach.

It only remains for me to comfort you, and to 4
suggest considerations whereby I may try to distract your thoughts from your miseries. But that genius for comforting either yourself or another, if ever man had it, is possessed in its full perfection by yourself; with any such topic, therefore, as has its source in what I may term the finer pursuits of learning, I shall not meddle, but leave it entirely to you. What conduct is worthy of a brave and wise man, what is imperatively demanded of you by your dignity, your loftiness of mind, your past history, the researches and accomplishments for which you have been distinguished from your boyhood—all that you will see for yourself. For my part, because I am in Rome and because I am interested and on the alert,

quia curo attendoque, possum, id tibi affirmo: te in istis molestiis, in quibus es hoc tempore, non diutius futurum; in iis autem, in quibus etiam nos sumus,
5 fortasse semper fore. Videor mihi perspicere primum ipsius animum, qui plurimum potest, propensum ad salutem tuam. Non scribo hoc temere. Quo minus familiaris sum, hoc sum ad investigandum curiosior. Quo facilius, quibus est iratior, respondere tristius possit, hoc est adhuc tardior ad te molestia liberandum. Familiares vero eius et ii quidem, qui illi iucundissimi sunt, mirabiliter de te et loquuntur et sentiunt. Accedit eodem vulgi voluntas vel potius consensus omnium. Etiam illa, quae minimum nunc quidem potest, sed possit necesse est, respublica, quascumque vires habebit, ab iis ipsis, quibus tenetur, de te propediem (mihi crede) im-
6 petrabit. Redeo igitur ad id, ut iam tibi etiam pollicear aliquid, quod primo omiseram. Nam et complectar eius familiarissimos, qui me admodum diligunt multumque mecum sunt, et in ipsius consuetudinem, quam adhuc meus pudor mihi clausit, insinuabo et certe omnes vias persequar, quibus





I am in a position to read the signs and feel the truth of what I now declare to you—that you will not much longer have to endure the harassing conditions under which you are living at present, but the conditions which I share with you perhaps you will have to endure for ever.

It seems to me quite clear, in the first place, that 5
the very man who has most to say in the matter is decidedly disposed to sanction your restoration. I am not writing thus at random. The less my intimacy with him, the more searching are my investigations. It is only to make it easier for him to give a less favourable reply to those with whom he is more angry than with you, that he has hitherto been dilatory in delivering you from your distress. As a matter of fact it is surprising how well those who are in close touch with him, and indeed those in whose company he finds most pleasure, both speak and think of you. Add, moreover, the goodwill of the commons, or rather the unanimity of all classes. Even our great Republic herself whose power, it is true, is now at its lowest (but power she is bound to have), whatever her strength may be, will at an early date, believe me, prevail upon the very men, who now hold her in subjection, to grant this boon on your behalf.

I therefore come back to this—I now even make 6
you a promise, which at first I forebore to make. It is my intention to make friends with those in closest touch with him, who already have a high regard for me, and are much in my company, and, moreover, to worm myself into familiarity with the great man himself—a familiarity from which I have been hitherto shut out by my own lack of self-assertion, and I shall not fail to follow up every opening

putabo ad id, quod volumus, pervenire posse. In hoc toto genere plura faciam, quam scribere audeo; cetera, quae tibi a multis prompta esse certo scio, a me sunt paratissima; nihil in re familiari mea est, quod ego meum malim esse, quam tuum. Hac de re et de hoc genere toto hoc scribo parcius, quod te, id quod ipse confido, sperare malo, te esse usurum tuis.

7 Extremum illud est, ut te orem et obsecrem, animo ut maximo sis, nec ea solum memineris, quae ab aliis magnis viris accepisti, sed illa etiam, quae ipse ingenio studioque peperisti. Quae si colliges, et sperabis omnia optime, et, quae accident, qualiacumque erunt, sapienter feres. Sed haec tu melius vel optime omnium. Ego, quae pertinere ad te intellegam, studiosissime omnia diligentissimeque curabo, tuorumque tristissimo meo tempore meritorum erga me memoriam conservabo.

## XIV

M. T. C. S. D. CN. PLANCIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Binas a te accepi litteras, Corcyra datas; quarum alteris mihi gratulabare, quod audisses, me

[a] Gnaeus Plancius was quaestor in 58, under the propraetor, L. Apuleius, in Macedonia where he showed great kindness to Cicero during his banishment. Having been elected curule aedile in 54, he was accused of bribery by M. Juventius, but Cicero defended him and he was acquitted. Having sided with the Pompeians in the Civil wars, he was now living in exile in Corcyra.





whereby I may think it possible to arrive at the goal of our desires. In connexion with this whole affair I shall do more than I dare write; for everything else, though I know for certain you can have all for the asking from many other quarters, I have myself made every preparation; there is not a thing in my private possession that I had not sooner be yours than mine. I write the less fully about this matter and on the whole question, because I had rather leave you to hope for yourself, what I on my side consider a certainty, that you will come to your own again.

My last word is this: I beg and beseech you to 7
be of good courage, and to bethink you not only of the discoveries for which you are indebted to other great men of science, but also of those you have yourself made by your own genius and research. If you make a list of them, it will give you every good hope, and you will endure what befalls you, of whatever nature it may be, as a philosopher should. But you know that better than I do, indeed, better than anybody. On my side, I shall give the most devoted and painstaking attention to what I see is of importance to you, and preserve unimpaired the memory of your services to me in the most gloomy period of my life.

## XIV

M. T. CICERO TO CN. PLANCIUS [a]

Rome, January (?), 45 B.C.

I have had two letters from you, dated from 1
Corcyra; in one of them you congratulated me because you had been told that I was maintaining

meam pristinam dignitatem obtinere; alteris dicebas te velle, quae egissem, bene et feliciter evenire. Ego autem, si dignitas est, bene de republica sentire et bonis viris probare quod sentias, obtineo dignitatem meam; sin autem in eo dignitas est, si, quod sentias, aut re efficere possis aut denique libera oratione defendere, ne vestigium quidem ullum est reliquum nobis dignitatis, agiturque praeclare, si nosmetipsos regere possumus, ut ea, quae partim iam adsunt, partim impendent, moderate feramus; quod est difficile in eiusmodi bello, cuius exitus ex altera parte caedem
2 ostentat, ex altera servitutem. Quo in periculo nonnihil me consolatur, cum recordor, haec me tum vidisse, cum secundas etiam res nostras, non modo adversas, pertimescebam videbamque, quanto periculo de iure publico disceptaretur armis. Quibus si vicissent ii, ad quos ego pacis spe, non belli cupiditate adductus accesseram, tamen intelligebam, et iratorum hominum et cupidorum et insolentium quam crudelis esset futura victoria; sin autem victi essent, quantus interitus esset futurus civium, partim amplissimorum, partim etiam optimorum, qui me, haec praedicentem atque optime consulentem saluti suae, malebant nimium timidum, quam satis prudentem

[a] This probably refers to his marriage with his young and wealthy ward Publilia, about a year after he had divorced Terentia, for having, as he alleged, mismanaged his affairs during his banishment.

[b] The Spanish war against the sons of Pompey. Their victory would mean massacre, the victory of Caesar enslavement.





my old position; in the other you expressed a hope that the arrangement I had made[a] might turn out well and happily. Well if "position" means the holding of sound political opinions, and making those opinions acceptable to men of sound character, I certainly do maintain my position; but if "position" consists in the ability to give practical effect to your opinions, or even merely to defend them with freedom of speech, why, then I have no vestige of position left me, and we are doing exceedingly well if we can but school ourselves to endure with self-control those evils, some of which have already befallen us, and others are hanging over us; and it is hard to do so in a war of this sort,[b] the issue of which on one side threatens massacre, and on the other slavery.

At this dangerous crisis I feel some slight con- 2
solation, when I recall that I foresaw all this, at the time when I was seriously alarmed even at our successes and not at our failures alone, and saw how great was the risk of submitting a point of constitutional right to the arbitrament of arms. For supposing that, by means of those arms, the party I had been drawn to join, not by any desire for war, but by the hope of arranging a peace, had proved victorious, I was none the less aware how sanguinary was bound to be the victory of men so angry, so rapacious, and so arrogant; and if on the other hand they were to be defeated, how crushing was bound to be the ruin of my fellow-citizens, some of them men of the highest rank, others of the highest character also, but men who, when I foretold all this and took the wisest measures for their safety, were more anxious that I should be regarded as showing undue timidity than proper prudence.

3 existimari. Quod autem mihi de eo, quod egerim, gratularis, te ita velle certo scio; sed ego tam misero tempore nihil novi consili cepissem, nisi in reditu meo nihilo meliores res domesticas, quam rempublicam offendissem. Quibus enim pro meis immortalibus beneficiis carissima mea salus et meae fortunae esse debebant, cum propter eorum scelus nihil mihi intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum viderem, novarum me necessitudinum fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam muniendum putavi. Sed de
4 nostris rebus satis, vel etiam nimium multa. De tuis, velim, ut eo sis animo, quo debes esse, id est, ut ne quid tibi praecipue timendum putes. Si enim status erit aliquis civitatis, quicumque erit, te omnium periculorum video expertem fore; nam alteros tibi iam placatos esse intellego, alteros numquam iratos fuisse. De mea autem in te voluntate sic velim iudices, me, quibuscumque rebus opus esse intellegam, quamquam videam, qui sim hoc tempore et quid possim, opera tamen et consilio, studio quidem certe, rei, famae, saluti tuae praesto futurum. Tu velim, et quid agas, et quid acturum te putes, facias me quam diligentissime certiorem. Vale.

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[a] His marriage with Publilia. See note *a* on p. 314.





Now you congratulate me upon the step I have taken;[a] well, I am quite sure you mean it; but I assure you that in these unhappy days I should not have made any change in my life had I not found on my return, that my domestic affairs were in no less evil plight than those of the state. For when those very persons in whose eyes my welfare and all I possessed should have been most precious, considering the imperishable benefits I had bestowed upon them, had behaved so wickedly that I could find no safety within the walls of my own house, no corner of it without its ambush,—then I thought it about time to protect myself by new and trustworthy alliances against the treachery of the old. But enough, or even too much, about my own affairs. 3

As to yours, I should be glad to see you no more anxious than you ought to be, in other words, not imagining that you have anything special to fear. If there is to be any sound basis of any constitution of whatever nature, I can see that you will be free of all danger; for I take it that you have already appeased one party, while the other has never been angry with you. But as regards my own wishes for your welfare, I should like you to assure yourself, that for my part whatever steps I may find it necessary to take, though I am quite aware what my position is and how little I can do at the present juncture, I shall none the less be at hand to support your interests, your reputation, and your restoration by my efforts and advice, and, at any rate, you may be sure, by my eagerness to serve you. I should be glad if you, on your part, would take every care to let me know both what you are doing, and what you think you are likely to do. Farewell. 4

## XV

M. T. C. S. D. CN. PLANCIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Accepi perbreves tuas litteras, quibus id quod scire cupiebam, cognoscere non potui; cognovi autem id quod mihi dubium non fuit. Nam, quam fortiter ferres communes miserias, non intellexi; quam me amares, facile perspexi; sed hoc sciebam. Illud si scissem, ad id meas litteras accommodavissem.
2 Sed tamenetsi antea scripsi, quae existimavi scribi oportere, tamen hoc tempore breviter commonendum putavi, ne quo periculo te proprio existimares esse; in magno omnes, sed tamen in communi sumus. Quare non debes aut propriam fortunam ac praecipuam postulare aut communem recusare. Quapropter eo animo simus inter nos, quo semper fuimus. Quod de te sperare, de me praestare possum.





## XV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am in receipt of your very short letter, which 1
did not enable me to discover what I was anxious to know, though I did discover what I had never doubted. In other words, how bravely you were bearing our common calamities, I had no means of learning; how sincerely you loved me, I could easily perceive; but the latter I knew already; had I known the former, I should have written accordingly.

But despite the fact that I have previously written 2
as much as I considered ought to be written, I have yet thought it necessary at such a crisis as this to caution you briefly not to imagine that you are in any special danger of your own; we are all in great danger, but after all it is a common danger. It is not right then that you should either demand for yourself alone any special privilege of fortune, or repudiate the fortune that has befallen us all. Let us, therefore, continue to be on the same terms of mutual friendship as we always have been. What I can but hope for in your case, I can guarantee in my own.

# M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

## LIBER QUINTUS

### I

Q. METELLUS Q. F. CELER PROCOS. S. D. M. T. CICERONI

E Gallia citeriore, A.U.C. 692.

1 Si vales, bene est. Existimaram, pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia, nec me absentem ludibrio laesum iri, nec Metellum fratrem ob dictum capite ac fortunis per te oppugnatum iri. Quem si parum pudor ipsius defendebat debebat vel familiae nostrae dignitas vel meum studium erga vos remque publicam satis sublevare. Nunc video illum circumventum, me desertum, a quibus minime con-
2 veniebat. Itaque in luctu et squalore sum, qui pro-

[a] The two Metelli, Celer and Nepos, were probably brothers, sons of Q. Metellus Nepos, consul in 98. The writer of this letter was praetor in 63, and helped to quell the Catilinarian rebellion. He was now governor of Cisalpine Gaul (not proconsul, though so called), a province which Cicero had renounced in his favour. He was consul with L. Afranius in 60, and died in 59, poisoned, it was suspected, by his wife Claudia, sister of P. Clodius. The incident here



# CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## BOOK V

### I

Q. METELLUS CELER [a] TO M. T. CICERO

Cisalpine Gaul, January, 62 B.C.

If you are in good health, it is well. I had 1
imagined, considering our mutual regard and the renewal of our friendship, that I should have escaped being ridiculed and insulted in my absence, and that my brother would not have had his civil rights and his property attacked through you, all for a mere phrase.[b] If his own propriety of conduct [c] was not enough to protect him, either the prestige of our family or my own earnest devotion to you all and the Republic ought to have been enough to help him in his need. As it is, I see him caught in the toils, and myself abandoned, and that by those in whom such conduct might have been least expected.

And so I am in mourning, and wear the garb of 2

mentioned is explained in Cicero's reply to Celer in the next letter.

[b] By "a mere phrase" he must mean the veto imposed by his brother as tribune. See note on p. 328.

[c] Or "the respect due to him."

vinciae, qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero. Quae quoniam nec ratione nec maiorum nostrorum clementia administrastis, non erit mirandum, si vos poenitebit. Te tam mobili in me meosque esse animo non sperabam. Me interea nec domesticus dolor nec cuiusquam iniuria a republica abducet. [Vale.]

## II

M. T. C. M. F. S. D. Q. METELLO Q. F. CELERI PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 692.

1 Si tu exercitusque valetis, bene est. Scribis ad me, *te existimasse, pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia, numquam te a me ludibrio laesum iri.* Quod cuiusmodi sit, satis intellegere non possum; sed tamen suspicor, ad te esse allatum, me in senatu, cum disputarem, permultos esse, qui rempublicam a me conservatam dolerent, dixisse, a te propinquos tuos, quibus negare non potuisses, impetrasse, ut ea, quae statuisses tibi in senatu de mea laude esse dicenda, reticeres. Quod cum dicerem, illud adiunxi, mihi tecum ita dispertitum officium fuisse in reipublicae salute retinenda, ut ego Urbem a domesticis insidiis et ab intestino scelere, tu Italiam

[a] In sympathy with a relative publicly disgraced.
[b] A disagreeable innuendo, Cicero himself being a *novus homo*.





mourning,[a] I, who govern a province, I, who command an army, I, who am conducting a war! And seeing that your procedure in these matters has been marked neither by reasonableness nor the clemency of our ancestors,[b] nobody need be surprised if you all live to regret it. I did not expect to find *you* so fickle-hearted in your dealings with me and mine. Meanwhile, speaking for myself, no family sorrow, no act of injustice on the part of any man, shall seduce me from my duty to the state.

## II

M. T. CICERO TO Q. METELLUS CELER

Rome, January or February 62 B.C.

If you and the army are in good health, it is well. You write to me that "*you had imagined, considering our mutual regard and the renewal of our friendship, that you would never have been ridiculed and insulted by me.*" What you exactly mean by that, I cannot quite understand; I suspect, however, you have been informed that, when maintaining that there were quite a number of men who resented my having preserved the state, I asserted in the Senate that your relations, whose request you could not have refused, had prevailed upon you to suppress the compliments you had already decided it was incumbent upon you to pay me in the Senate. In saying this, however, I was careful to add, that the duty of maintaining the safety of the state had been so apportioned between us, that while I defended the City from treachery at home and intestine outrage, you guarded Italy 1

et ab armatis hostibus et ab occulta coniuratione defenderes; atque hanc nostram tanti et tam praeclari muneris societatem a tuis propinquis labefactatam; qui, cum tu a me rebus amplissimis atque honorificentissimis ornatus esses, timuissent, ne quae mihi
2 pars abs te voluntatis mutuae tribueretur. Hoc in sermone cum a me exponeretur, quae mea exspectatio fuisset orationis tuae quantoque in errore versatus essem, visa est oratio non iniucunda, et mediocris quidam est risus consecutus, non in te, sed magis in errorem meum, et quod me abs te cupisse laudari aperte atque ingenue confitebar. Iam hoc non potest in te non honorifice esse dictum, me in clarissimis meis atque amplissimis rebus tamen aliquod
3 testimonium tuae vocis habere voluisse. Quod autem ita scribis, *pro mutuo inter nos animo*, quid tu existimes esse in amicitia mutuum, nescio; equidem hoc arbitror, cum par voluntas accipitur et redditur. Ego, si hoc dicam, me tua causa praetermisisse provinciam, tibi ipse levior videar esse; meae enim rationes ita tulerunt atque eius mei consili maiorem in dies singulos fructum voluptatemque capio. Illud dico, me, ut primum in contione provinciam deposuerim, statim, quemadmodum eam tibi traderem, cogitare coepisse. Nihil dico de sortitione vestra;

[a] Or "waived my claim to a province." The two provinces to be administered by the consuls for 63 B.C. were apparently Macedonia and Gallia Cisalpina. Cicero first allowed his colleague Antonius to choose Macedonia (see Chron. Sum. 63 B.C. § 2), and then renounced his own claim to Gallia Cisalpina, which was allotted to Q. Metellus Celer. Watson.

[b] *Ipse* seems to suggest "as I certainly think *you* are."





from armed enemies and secret conspiracy; and that this association of ours in so great and glorious a responsibility had been undermined by your relations, who, though I had complimented you by giving you the most handsome and honourable commissions, had shown themselves afraid of your paying me any share of the goodwill you should have reciprocated.

When at this point I was explaining how eagerly 2
I had looked forward to your speech, and how completely misled I had been, my speech appeared to cause some little amusement, and was followed by a sort of ripple of laughter, not at you, but rather at the mistake I had made, and at my so openly and frankly admitting I had pined for your praise. Well now, what I said cannot be regarded as anything but a compliment to you—that amid all the glory and grandeur of my achievements I had still desired to have some specific confirmation of them from your lips.

When, however, you use the words "*considering* 3
*our mutual regard*," what meaning *you* attach to what is "mutual" in friendship, I do not know; what *I* conceive it to be is "the acceptance and return of good feeling on equal terms." As to my own action, supposing that I were to say that it was for your sake that I allowed my chance of a province to pass by,[a] you would think me somewhat of a hypocrite myself;[b] for my interests pointed in the direction I took, and I get more and more enjoyment and satisfaction out of that decision of mine every day of my life. What I do say is, that from the moment I waived my claim to the province at a public meeting, I immediately began to consider how I could best hand it over to you. About you and

tantum te suspicari volo, nihil in ea re per collegam meum, me insciente, esse factum. Recordare cetera; quam cito senatum illo die, facta sortitione, coegerim; quam multa de te verba fecerim, cum tu ipse mihi dixisti, orationem meam non solum in te honorificam, sed etiam in collegas tuos contumeliosam fuisse.
4 Iam illud senatus consultum, quod eo die factum est, ea praescriptione est, ut, dum id exstabit, officium meum in te obscurum esse non possit. Postea vero, quam profectus es, velim recordere, quae ego de te in senatu egerim, quae in contionibus dixerim, quas ad te litteras miserim. Quae cum omnia collegeris, tu ipse velim iudices, satisne videatur his omnibus rebus tuus adventus, cum proxime Romam
5 venisti, mutue respondisse. Quod scribis de *reconciliata nostra gratia*, non intellego, cur reconciliatam
6 esse dicas, quae numquam imminuta est. Quod scribis, *non oportuisse Metellum fratrem tuum ob dictum a me oppugnari*, primum, hoc velim existimes, animum mihi istum tuum vehementer probari et fraternam plenam humanitatis ac pietatis voluntatem; deinde, si qua ego in re fratri tuo reipublicae

[a] C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague, had presided at the *sortitio*, and at Cicero's instance had contrived that Cisalpine Gaul should fall to Metellus.

[b] It is not clear what this decree was; the preamble must have contained complimentary references to Metellus.

[c] Metellus had probably approached Rome in the winter of 63-62 as a demonstration in support of his brother Nepos, when the latter attacked Cicero in the Senate, as described below. Watson.





your fellow-praetors drawing lots, I say nothing; I only wish to give you a hint that nothing was done in that matter by my colleague without my cognizance.[a] Just recall everything else that happened —how promptly I convened the Senate on that day after the balloting was over, at what length I spoke about you; indeed, you yourself told me at the time that my speech was not only complimentary to yourself, but went so far as to reflect unpleasantly upon your colleagues.

And now we come to that decree of the Senate 4
passed on the same day,[b] the preamble of which is such, that so long as that decree is extant, there can be no possible doubt as to my kindness to you. Again, after you had left Rome, I should like you to call to mind how I spoke of you in the Senate, what I said at public meetings, and what was the letter I sent you. When you have made a list of all these acts of mine, I should be glad if you would judge for yourself, whether, when lately you came to Rome,[c] your arrival on the scene strikes you as an adequate response, in a reciprocal sense, to all those services of mine.

You refer in your letter to "the renewal of our 5
friendship"; well, I do not understand why you apply the term "renewal" to what has never been impaired.

As for your remark that "your brother Metellus 6
ought not to have been attacked by me on account of 'a mere phrase,'" in the first place I should like you to believe that I warmly approve that feeling of yours, that brotherly affection so full of human kindness and affection; in the second place, if in any respect I have opposed your brother for the sake of the

causa restiterim, ut mihi ignoscas. Tam enim sum amicus reipublicae, quam qui maxime. Si vero meam salutem contra illius impetum in me crudelissimum defenderim, satis habeas, nihil me etiam tecum de tui fratris iniuria conqueri. Quem ego cum comperissem, omnem sui tribunatus conatum in meam perniciem parare atque meditari, egi cum Claudia, uxore tua, et cum vestra sorore Mucia, cuius erga me studium, pro Cn. Pompei necessitudine, multis in rebus perspexeram, ut eum ab illa iniuria deterrerent.

7 Atque ille, quod te audisse certo scio,[1] pridie Kal. Ianuar., qua iniuria nemo umquam in minimo[2] magistratu improbissimus civis affectus est, ea me consulem affecit, cum rempublicam conservassem, atque abeuntem magistratu contionis habendae potestate privavit; cuius iniuria mihi tamen honori summo fuit. Nam cum ille mihi nihil, nisi ut iurarem, permitteret, magna voce iuravi verissimum pulcherrimumque iusiurandum; quod populus idem

8 magna voce me vere iurasse iuravit. Hac accepta

[1] quod te audisse certo scio] *Nobbe, following* "*codd. nonnulli*" *has* certe, credo, scio.
[2] *Lambinus*: in animo *M.*

[a] When Cicero proposed in accordance with custom to address the people from the *rostra* on the expiration of his consulship, Q. Metellus Nepos, who, unlike his brother Celer, had sided with the Catilinarians, being then tribune, interposed his veto on the ground that Cicero had acted unconstitutionally "in putting Roman citizens to death without a trial." The veto of Nepos was the "mere phrase" to which Celer refers to in the preceding letter. Cicero's retort in the Senate forced Nepos to leave Rome, thereby vacating his tribunate, and it would appear that the Senate declared him a public enemy. See Chron. Sum. 61 B.C. § 4.





state, I beg you to forgive me; for I am as great a friend of the state as the greatest friend she has. If, however, I have but defended my personal safety against his most merciless attack upon me, you must rest content that I make no complaint to you either of your brother's injustice to me.

Now when I had discovered that he was directing every effort he could make as tribune [a] to my destruction, and laying his plans accordingly, I appealed to your wife, Claudia,[b] and to your sister Mucia [c] too, of whose desire to serve me, in consideration of my intimacy with Pompey, I had assured myself on several occasions, to deter him from so injurious a policy.

And yet, as I know for certain that you were told, 7
on the last day of December he inflicted upon me, consul and saviour of the Republic as I was, an indignity such as has never yet been inflicted upon any man holding the lowest office in the state, were he the most disloyal of citizens—he robbed me, on laying down my office, of the privilege of addressing the people; but that indignity after all resulted in my being most highly honoured. For though he permitted me to do no more than merely take the oath, I took that oath, and a very true and glorious oath it was, in a loud voice; and the people also swore as loudly that that same oath I had sworn was true.[d]

[b] A woman of the worst reputation, identified with the Lesbia of Catullus. See note *a* on p. 320.
[c] Half-sister of the two Metelli and wife of Pompey, by whom she was afterwards divorced.
[d] The words of the oath were *rem publicam atque hanc urbem mea unius opera esse salvam*, "that the safety of the state and this city is due to my efforts alone."

tam insigni iniuria, tamen illo ipso die misi ad Metellum communes amicos, qui agerent cum eo, ut de illa mente desisteret. Quibus ille respondit sibi non esse integrum. Etenim paullo ante in contione dixerat, ei, qui in alios animadvertisset indicta causa, dicendi ipsi potestatem fieri non oportere. Hominem gravem et civem egregium! qui, qua poena senatus, consensu bonorum omnium, eos affecerat, qui Urbem incendere, et magistratus ac senatum trucidare, bellum maximum conflare voluissent, eadem dignum iudicaret eum, qui curiam caede, Urbem incendiis, Italiam bello liberasset. Itaque ego Metello, fratri tuo, praesenti restiti. Nam in senatu Kal. Ian. sic cum eo de republica disputavi, ut sentiret, sibi cum viro forti et constanti esse pugnandum. A. d. tertium Non. Ianuar. cum agere coepisset, tertio quoque verbo orationis suae me appellabat, mihi minabatur; neque illi quidquam deliberatius fuit, quam me, quacumque ratione posset, non iudicio, neque disceptatione, sed vi atque impressione evertere. Huius ego temeritati si virtute atque animo non restitissem, quis esset, qui me in consulatu non casu potius existimaret, quam consilio fortem fuisse?

9 Haec si tu Metellum cogitare de me nescisti, debes

[a] That Pompey should be recalled from the East to restore order in Italy.





Now though I had suffered so notable an insult, 8
nevertheless, on that very day I sent some common friends of ours to Metellus to entreat him to abandon his intention; but his answer to them was that he had already committed himself. And he had, as a matter of fact, not long before publicly declared that a man who had punished others without a trial ought not himself to be granted the privilege of making a speech.

What a sterling character! What a peerless patriot! For, in his judgment, the man who had delivered the Senate-house from massacre, the City from incendiarism, and Italy from war, deserved the same punishment as that inflicted by the Senate, with the unanimous approval of all honest men, upon those who had purposed to fire the City, butcher the magistrates and the Senate, and fan the flames of a devastating war. And so I defied your brother Metellus to his face. For on the 1st of January I so dealt with him in the Senate on the political situation, as to convince him that the man with whom he would have to fight lacked neither courage nor determination. On the 3rd of January, when he began to develop his proposal,[a] every other word of his speech was a challenge or a threat to me, and he had no more deliberate purpose in mind, than by any means in his power, not by legal procedure or fair argument, but by brute force and browbeating, to effect the overthrow of myself. Had I not stood up to him, in his hot-headed attack upon me, with some courage and spirit, who in all the world would not suspect that the fortitude I showed in my consulship was due to accident rather than to policy?

If you were not aware that Metellus harboured 9

existimare, te maximis de rebus a fratre esse celatum; sin autem aliquid impertivit tibi sui consili, lenis a te et facilis existimari debeo, qui nihil tecum de his ipsis rebus expostulem. Et, si intellegis non me dicto Metelli, ut scribis, sed consilio eius animoque in me inimicissimo esse commotum, cognosce nunc humanitatem meam—si humanitas appellanda est in acerbissima iniuria remissio animi ac dissolutio. Nulla est a me umquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum; quotiescumque aliquid est actum, sedens iis assensi, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. Addam illud etiam, quod iam ego curare non debui, sed tamen fieri non moleste tuli, atque etiam, ut ita fieret, pro mea parte adiuvi, ut senatus consulto meus inimicus,
10 quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur. Quare non ego *oppugnavi* fratrem tuum, sed fratri tuo repugnavi; nec in te, ut scribis, *animo* fui *mobili*, sed ita stabili, ut in mea erga te voluntate, etiam desertus ab officiis tuis, permanerem. Atque hoc ipso tempore tibi

[a] *e.g.* his expulsion from office. Jeans translates "a proposal for granting him a bill of indemnity."





such designs against me, it is but right that you should draw the inference that your brother has kept you in the dark about matters of the gravest moment; but if, on the other hand, he has let you to some extent into the secret of his policy, I deserve that you should regard me as a man of mild and indulgent disposition for not remonstrating with you in reference to these very matters.

And if you are satisfied that it was not the "mere phrase," as you describe it, of Metellus, but his whole policy and the extreme bitterness of his animosity towards myself that distressed me, I would have you now at last recognize my kindness —if indeed "kindness" is the word for slackness and indifference of mind under so exasperating an outrage. Never once did I express an opinion in the Senate unfavourable to your brother; whenever there was any proposal about him, I agreed, without rising, with those whose proposals seemed to me to be the least drastic. I will add this too, that though I need not have troubled myself in the matter after what had occurred, still, so far from resenting the measure, I did my very best to help its being carried—I mean that a release from his penalties[a] should be granted by a decree of the Senate to my assailant, all because he was your brother.

This proves that I did not "*attack*" your brother, 10
but merely repelled your brother's attacks; nor have I been "*fickle-hearted*" towards you (I quote your letter), but so constant at heart as to remain ever true to my kindly feeling for you, although I am no longer the recipient of your favours. And even at this very moment when you are, I might almost

paene minitanti nobis per litteras hoc rescribo atque respondeo — ego dolori tuo non solum ignosco, sed summam etiam laudem tribuo. Meus enim me sensus, quanta vis fraterni sit amoris, admonet. A te peto, ut tu quoque aequum te iudicem dolori meo praebeas: si acerbe, si crudeliter, si sine causa sum a tuis oppugnatus, ut statuas, mihi non modo non cedendum, sed etiam tuo atque exercitus tui auxilio, in eiusmodi causa, utendum fuisse. Ego te mihi semper amicum esse volui; me ut tibi amicissimum esse intellegeres, laboravi. Maneo in voluntate, et, quoad voles tu, permanebo, citiusque amore tui fratrem tuum odisse desinam, quam illius odio quidquam de nostra benevolentia detraham.

## III

Q. METELLUS NEP. S. D. M. T. C.

In Hispania, A.U.C. 698.

1 Hominis importunissimi contumeliae, quibus crebris concionibus me onerat, tuis erga me officiis leniuntur et, ut sunt leves ab eiusmodi homine, a me despiciuntur; libenterque commutata persona te

[a] A slightly satirical reference to Celer's *exercitui praesum* in the preceding letter.

[b] It should be noticed that this letter was written six years later than the preceding letter.

[c] Almost certainly P. Clodius, as indicated by the use of *fratris* below.





say, writing me a threatening letter, I write back and answer you thus — not only do I excuse your resentment, but I even pay it the tribute of my highest commendation; for my own feeling prevents my forgetting the power of brotherly love. I only beg you on your side, too, to prove an impartial judge of my own resentment; and if your friends have attacked me bitterly, ruthlessly, and without provocation, I ask you to come to the conclusion that not only ought I to have refused to surrender, but that in such a cause, I ought even to have availed myself of your assistance, and that of the army you command.[a] It has been my desire that you should always be friendly disposed towards me, and I have striven to convince you that I, too, am most friendly disposed towards you. That kindly feeling I still maintain, and so long as it is *your* pleasure, I shall continue to maintain it; and I shall sooner cease to resent your brother's conduct because I love you, than because of that resentment permit our mutual goodwill to be in the slightest degree impaired.

## III

Q. METELLUS NEPOS TO CICERO[b]

Spain, 56 B.C.

The insults of a very troublesome fellow,[c] which he heaps upon me in one public meeting after another, have the sting taken out of them by your good services to me; and as, coming from such a man, they carry no weight, I despise them; and, by an interchange of personality, it is a pleasure to me 1

2 mihi fratris loco esse duco. De illo ne meminisse quidem volo, tametsi bis eum invitum servavi. De meis rebus, ne vobis multitudine litterarum molestior essem, ad Lollium perscripsi, de rationibus provinciae quid vellem fieri, ut is vos doceret et commonefaceret. Si poteris, velim pristinam tuam erga me voluntatem conserves.

## IV

M. C. S. D. Q. METELLO NEPOTI COS.

A.U.C. 697.

1 Litterae Quinti fratris et T. Pomponi, necessarii mei, tantum spei dederant, ut in te non minus auxili, quam in tuo collega mihi constitutum fuerit. Itaque litteras ad te statim misi, per quas, ut fortuna postulabat, et gratias tibi egi et de reliquo tempore auxilium petii. Postea mihi non tam meorum litterae, quam sermones eorum, qui hac iter faciebant, animum tuum immutatum significabant; quae res
2 fecit, ut tibi litteris obstrepere non auderem. Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus mitissimam tuam orationem, quam in senatu habuisses, perscripsit, qua inductus, ad te scribere sum conatus et abs te, quan-

[a] As P. Clodius was, his mother Caecilia being the sister of Nepos's father, Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus, consul in 123.

[b] Atticus, Cicero's greatest friend and correspondent. For the situation as regards Nepos see Chron. Sum. 57 B.C. § 3.





to regard *you* in the light of a cousin[a] to me. As for him, I don't want to give him a thought, though the fact remains that I have twice saved his life in spite of himself. As to my own affairs, not to bother 2
you all with too many letters, I have written fully to Lollius, telling him what I want done about my provincial accounts, so that he may pass on my instructions and bring the matter to your notice. I hope you will always be as friendly to me as you have been in the past, if you possibly can.

## IV

M. CICERO TO METELLUS NEPOS, CONSUL

Dyrrachium, in the earlier half of 57 B.C.

The letters of my brother Quintus and my intimate 1
friend, T. Pomponius,[b] had so raised my hopes, that I counted upon no less assistance on your part than on that of your colleague.[c] And so I lost no time in sending you a letter, in which, as the circumstances of the time demanded, I both expressed my thanks to you and asked for your subsequent assistance. Afterwards, I was given to understand not so much from what my friends wrote to me, as by the remarks of those who travelled by this route, that your feelings had changed; and the result was that I did not like to pester you with correspondence.

Now, however, my brother Quintus has sent me a 2
full report of the very gracious speech which you delivered in the Senate; and that speech moved me to make an effort to write to you; and I beg and

[c] P. Lentulus Spinther (i. 1-9).

tum tua fert voluntas, peto quaesoque, ut tuos mecum serves potius, quam propter arrogantem crudelitatem tuorum me oppugnes. Tu tuas inimicitias ut reipublicae donares, te vicisti; alienas ut contra rempublicam confirmes, adduceris? Quod si mihi tua clementia opem tuleris, omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate tibi confirmo; sin mihi neque magistratum neque senatum neque populum auxiliari propter eam vim, quae me cum republica vicit, licuerit, vide ne, cum velis revocare tempus omnium servandorum,[1] cum, qui servetur, non erit, non possis.

## V

M. C. S. D. C. ANTONIO M. F. IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 693.

1 Etsi statueram nullas ad te litteras mittere, nisi commendatitias (non quo eas intellegerem satis apud te valere, sed ne iis, qui me rogarent, aliquid de nostra coniunctione imminutum esse ostenderem), tamen, cum T. Pomponius, homo omnium meorum in

[1] reservandorum, *the reading of the codd., is probably due to the* re *in* revocare, *and* servandorum *makes good enough sense.*

[a] Especially P. Clodius, who was still closely connected with Nepos through his sister Claudia, mentioned in *Ep.* ii., now the widow of his brother, Metellus Celer, who died in 59.

[b] Notably his quarrel with Cicero (*cf. Ep.* ii.).

[c] Uncle of the triumvir, and Cicero's colleague as consul in 63. He was a Catilinarian, but deserted that cause on Cicero's resigning to him the province of Macedonia. He commanded an army against Catilina, but on the day of battle delegated his command to M. Petreius. Returning to Rome in 59, he was accused both of complicity with





pray of you, as earnestly as I may without straining your courtesy, to save your kinsfolk by saving me also, rather than be induced to attack me on account of the arrogance and ruthlessness of your kinsfolk.[a] You have won a victory over yourself so far as to lay aside certain private enmities[b] of your own in the interests of the state; will you ever be prompted to countenance the enmities of others to the prejudice of the state?

But if, with your usual clemency, you now give me your help, I assure you that I shall be in all respects wholly at your service; if, however, owing to that system of violence which has triumphed over me and the state together, the magistracy, the Senate, and the people are alike forbidden to come to my aid, then, I say, beware lest, if at any time you should desire to recall this opportunity of saving us all, you may not be able to do so, because there will be nobody left to save.

## V

TO GAIUS ANTONIUS[c] IN MACEDONIA

Rome, January, 61 B.C.

I had certainly resolved to send you no letters except letters of introduction—not that I gathered that even these had as much weight with you as I should like, but so as not to give those who asked me for them reason to suspect any loosening of the ties which bind us. Now that Pomponius, however, a man who knows better than anybody all the energy 1

Catilina, and of extortion as Governor of Macedonia. Though defended by Cicero he was condemned and retired to Cephallenia.

te studiorum et officiorum maxime conscius, tui cupidus, nostri amantissimus, ad te proficisceretur, aliquid mihi scribendum putavi, praesertim cum
2 aliter ipsi Pomponio satisfacere non possem. Ego si abs te summa officia desiderem, mirum nemini videri debeat. Omnia enim a me in te profecta sunt, quae ad tuum commodum, quae ad honorem, quae ad dignitatem pertinerent. Pro iis rebus nullam mihi abs te relatam esse gratiam, tu es optimus testis: contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum, ex multis audivi. Nam *comperisse* me, non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te aiunt falso[1] in me solere conferri. Sed ea, quae ad me delata sunt, malo te ex Pomponio, cui non minus molesta fuerunt, quam ex meis litteris cognoscere. Meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit, et senatus et populus Romanus testis est; tu quam gratus erga me fueris, ipse existimare potes; quantum mihi debeas,
3 ceteri existiment.[2] Ego quae tua causa antea feci, voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia. Sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo maius meum studium maioremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant. Quae ego si non profundere ac perdere videbor, omnibus meis viribus sustinebo; sin autem ingrata esse sen-

[1] falso *codd.*: salse *Martyni-Laguna.*
[2] *The Neapolitan ed.*: existimant *codd.*

[a] *e.g.* Cicero's resignation of Macedonia in Antonius's favour, mentioned in the preceding note.
[b] Cicero was twitted by his enemies, especially Clodius, with his too frequent use of the word *comperi*, in connexion with the Catilinarian conspiracy, when he refused to disclose his evidence.





I have shown, all the services I have performed, on your behalf, who is eager for your friendship, and very much attached to myself, is leaving Rome to join you, I felt that I had to write something, especially as I could in no other way satisfy Pomponius himself.

Were I to look for the highest services at your 2
hands, nobody ought to regard it with surprise. For there is nothing which might conduce to your welfare, your honour, or your position, that has not found its way from me to you.[a] That in return for all this you have shown me no practical gratitude whatever, you are yourself the best of witnesses; indeed, I have been told by many that you are to be credited with something quite the opposite—I shrink from saying "*I have discovered it*,"[b] lest I happen to use in my letter the very expression people say you so often untruthfully attribute to me. But I had rather you should learn what has been reported to me from Pomponius, who is as much annoyed at it as I am, than from my letter. How exceptionally loyal at heart I have been to you, both the Senate and the people of Rome can testify; how much gratitude you have shown me, you can estimate for yourself, how much you owe me, it is for the rest of the world to estimate.

In all I have hitherto done for your sake, I was 3
prompted by goodwill and subsequently by a regard for consistency. But what remains to be done, believe me, demands far greater enthusiasm on my part, and a far more serious effort. And unless it appears that my efforts are thrown away and wasted, I mean to persevere in them to the utmost limit of my strength; if, however, I perceive that they evoke

tiam, non committam, ut tibi ipsi insanire videar. Ea quae sint et cuiusmodi, poteris ex Pomponio cognoscere. Atque ipsum tibi Pomponium ita commendo, ut, quamquam ipsius causa confido te facturum esse omnia, tamen abs te hoc petam, ut, si quid in te residet amoris erga me, id omne in Pomponi negotio ostendas. Hoc mihi nihil gratius facere potes.

## VI

M. C. S. D. P. SESTIO L. F. PROQUAEST.

Romae, A.U.C. 692.

1 Cum ad me Decius librarius[1] venisset egissetque mecum, ut operam darem, ne tibi hoc tempore succederetur, quamquam illum hominem frugi et tibi amicum existimabam, tamen, quod memoria tenebam, cuiusmodi ad me litteras antea misisses, non satis credidi, tuam, hominis prudentis, tam valde esse mutatam voluntatem.[2] Sed posteaquam et Cornelia tua Terentiam convenit et ego cum Q. Cornelio locutus sum, adhibui diligentiam, quotiescumque senatus fuit, ut adessem, plurimumque in eo negoti habui, ut

[1] *MR*: libertus tuus *Martyni-Laguna.*
[2] *MSS. have* homini prudenti tam valde esse mutatam voluntatem tuam: *I have adopted Tyrrell's* hominis prudentis, *and restored* tuam *to its natural position.*

[a] "The very recipient of my kindness."
[b] Proquaestor to C. Antonius in Macedonia. Cicero defended him later, in Feb. 56 B.C., on a charge *de vi* in the speech *Pro Sestio.*
[c] Brother of Cornelia, the wife of Sestius; they were the children of C. Cornelius Scipio.





no gratitude, I shall not make the mistake of letting myself be suspected of lunacy, yes, even by you yourself.[a] What is impending, and what it all means, you can ascertain from Pomponius. And as regards Pomponius himself, I commend him to you so warmly, that although I am sure you will do all in your power for the sake of the man himself, I none the less beg of you, if there still lurks in your heart any affection for me, to show it unreservedly in dealing with Pomponius's business. You can do nothing that would give me greater pleasure than that.

## VI

M. CICERO TO P. SESTIUS[b] IN MACEDONIA

Rome, December, 62 B.C.

Decius the copyist paid me a visit and entreated me to make every effort to prevent the appointment for the present of anybody to succeed you; now although he impressed me as being an honest fellow and on friendly terms with you, still, having a clear recollection of the purport of your previous letter to me, I did not feel quite convinced that a man of your shrewdness had so completely changed his mind. But after your wife Cornelia had called upon Terentia, and I had had a conversation with Q. Cornelius,[c] I was particularly careful to attend every single meeting of the Senate, and what gave me most trouble was to compel Q. Fufius,[d] tribune 1

[d] Q. Fufius Calenus, consul in 47, a persistent opponent of Cicero.

Q. Fufium, tribunum plebis, et ceteros, ad quos tu scripseras, cogerem potius mihi credere, quam tuis litteris. Omnino res tota in mensem Ianuarium
2 reiecta erat, sed facile obtinebatur. Ego tua gratulatione commotus, quod ad me pridem scripseras, velle te bene evenire, quod de Crasso domum emissem, emi eam ipsam domum HS xxxv, aliquanto post tuam gratulationem. Itaque nunc me scito tantum habere aeris alieni, ut cupiam coniurare, si qui recipiat; sed partim odio inducti me excludunt et aperte vindicem coniurationis oderunt, partim non credunt, et a me insidias metuunt, nec putant ei nummos deesse posse, qui ex obsidione foeneratores exemerit. Omnino semissibus magna copia est. Ego autem meis rebus gestis hoc sum assecutus, ut
3 bonum nomen existimer. Domum tuam atque aedificationem omnem perspexi, et vehementer probavi.
4 Antonium, etsi eius in me officia omnes desiderant, tamen in senatu gravissime ac diligentissime defendi, senatumque vehementer oratione mea atque auctori-
5 tate commovi. Tu ad me velim litteras crebrius mittas.

[a] 3,500,000 sesterces; a huge sum, not less than £30,000.
[b] The Catilinarian, the object of which was, as Cicero always maintained, to evade the payment of debts. The money-lenders therefore had reason to be grateful to him.
[c] C. Antonius. See *Ep.* v. [d] "A good debt."





of the plebs, and all the others to whom you had written, to believe me rather than your letters. Anyhow the whole business has been postponed till the month of January, but we find no difficulty in holding our own.

Roused by your congratulations—for you wrote to 2
me some time ago, wishing me luck on having bought a house from Crassus—I have now bought that very house for three thousand five hundred sestertia,[a] a considerable time after you congratulated me on having done so. The consequence is that I must tell you I am so heavily in debt, that I am eager to join a conspiracy, if anybody would let me in; but while some exclude me because they hate me, and indeed make no secret of their hatred of the man who crushed the other conspiracy,[b] others distrust me and fear that I am trying to circumvent them, and do not believe that one who has released the money-lenders from a blockade can possibly be short of money. As a matter of fact there is plenty of money to be got at six per cent. Speaking for myself, my achievements have secured me one advantage—I am looked upon as "a good name.[d]"

I have inspected your own house, too, and its 3
whole design, and it has pleased me very much.

As for Antonius,[c] though everybody remarks the 4
cessation of his services to me, it did not prevent my defending him in the Senate with much earnestness and assiduity, and I greatly impressed the Senate with my address and the weight of my personality.

I should be glad if you would write to me more 5
frequently.

## VII

M. T. M. F. CICERO S. D. CN. POMPEIO CN. F. MAGNO IMPERATORI

Romae, A.U.C. 692.

1 S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. E. V. Ex litteris tuis, quas publice misisti, cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem. Tantam enim spem oti ostendisti, quantam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostes, novos amicos, vehementer litteris perculsos atque ex magna spe
2 deturbatos iacere. Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguam significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito iucundas fuisse; nulla enim re tam laetari soleo, quam meorum officiorum conscientia, quibus si quando non mutuo respondetur, apud me plus offici residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito, quin, si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, respublica nos inter
3 nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. Ac, ne ignores, quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam in tuis litteris et nostrae

[a] This formal mode of address was used towards persons in a high position, strangers and women. For the position see Chron. Sum. 62 B.C. § 2.





## VII

TO CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, IN ASIA

Rome, about June, 62 B.C.

If you and the army are in good health, it 1
is well; I, too, am in good health.[a] Your official dispatch gave me, in common with everybody else, more pleasure than you could believe. For you indicate in it as confident a hope of peace as I have consistently held out to all others, because I relied exclusively upon you; though I must tell you that your enemies of long standing (your friends of recent date) are profoundly dismayed at your dispatch; they have been hurled down from the height of their expectations, and lie prostrate.

As regards your private letter to me, however, in 2
spite of its containing but a slight expression of your regard for me, I assure you I was charmed with it; for generally speaking nothing cheers me up so much as the consciousness of my good services to others; and if, as sometimes happens, they elicit no adequate response, I am quite content that the balance of services rendered should rest with me. Of this I have no doubt at all that, if the proofs of my deep devotion to you have not quite succeeded in attaching me to you, that attachment will be brought about and cemented between us by the interests of the state.

Still, not to leave you in any doubt as to what it was 3
I missed in your letter, I shall be as frank with you in mine as my own nature and our mutual friendship alike demand. My achievements have been such that I did expect some congratulatory reference

necessitudinis et reipublicae causa gratulationem exspectavi; quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere, ne cuius animum offenderes. Sed scito, ea, quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus, orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari. Quae, quum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces, ut tibi, multo maiori quam Africanus fuit, me, non multo minorem quam Laelium, facile et in republica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.

## VIII

M. T. C. S. D. M. LICINIO P. F. CRASSO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Quantum a.d.[1] . . . meum studium exstiterit dignitatis tuae vel tuendae, vel etiam augendae, non dubito, quin ad te omnes tui scripserint. Non enim fuit aut mediocre aut obscurum aut eiusmodi, quod silentio posset praeteriri. Nam et cum consulibus et cum multis consularibus tanta contentione decertavi, quanta numquam antea ulla in causa, suscepique mihi perpetuam propugnationem pro omnibus orna-

[1] *Klotz*: ad *codd.*

[a] P. Corn. Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, son of L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, but adopted by P. Scipio, the elder son of Scipio Africanus Maior, the conqueror of Hannibal. His friendship with the younger Laelius, as great as that of Scipio Africanus Maior with Laelius's father, is immortalized in Cicero's treatise *Laelius, sive De amicitia*.

[b] The date has been lost.

[c] Crassus's enemies, among whom were the consuls for 54, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius, seem to have proposed a curtailment of his powers and resources in the East; this was resisted by Cicero, who fought hard for him, and apparently with success, in the Senate.





to them in your letter, in consideration, not only of our intimacy, but of their importance to the state; and I can only suppose that you omitted any such reference because you were afraid of wounding anybody's feelings. Anyhow you must allow me to say that what I accomplished for the salvation of our country is now approved by the deliberate pronouncement of the whole world; and when you return home, you will recognize that the wisdom as well as the courage I showed in my achievements was such, that you, though a much greater man than Africanus[a] ever was, will find no difficulty in admitting me, who am not much less a man than Laelius, into close association with yourself both in public policy and in private friendship.

## VIII

TO M. LICINIUS CRASSUS, ON HIS WAY TO SYRIA

Rome, latter half of January (?), 54 B.C.

What enthusiasm I showed on the . . .[b] in defending, or I might even say in exalting your official position, I have no doubt all your correspondents have told you. My speech was neither lukewarm nor ambiguous, nor such as could be passed over in silence. For I fought my battle[c] against the consuls, and many of the consulars too, with an eagerness I have never shown in any cause before, and I took upon myself the perpetual championship of your dis- 1

mentis tuis, veterique nostrae necessitudini iamdiu debitum sed multa varietate temporum interruptum
2 officium cumulate reddidi. Neque mehercule umquam mihi tui aut colendi aut ornandi voluntas defuit; sed quaedam pestes hominum, laude aliena dolentium, et te nonnumquam a me alienarunt et me aliquando immutarunt tibi. Sed exstitit tempus, optatum mihi magis, quam speratum, ut, florentissimis tuis rebus, mea perspici posset et memoria nostrae voluntatis et amicitiae fides. Sum enim consecutus, non modo ut domus tua tota, sed ut cuncta civitas me tibi amicissimum esse cognosceret. Itaque et praestantissima omnium feminarum, uxor tua, et eximia pietate, virtute, gratia tui Crassi, meis consiliis, monitis, studiis actionibusque nituntur; et senatus populusque Romanus intellegit, tibi absenti nihil esse tam promptum aut tam paratum, quam in omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertineant, operam, curam,
3 diligentiam, auctoritatem meam. Quae sint acta quaeque agantur, domesticorum tibi litteris declarari puto. De me sic existimes ac tibi persuadeas vehementer velim non me repentina aliqua voluntate, aut fortuito, ad tuam amplitudinem meis officiis amplectendam incidisse, sed, ut primum forum

[a] Cicero and Crassus were thrice estranged and thrice reconciled. The first quarrel was due to Cicero's ascribing to Pompey the whole credit of the Servile War; the second was due to Crassus's activity in urging the banishment of Cicero, but a reconciliation was effected, mainly through Crassus's son Publius. The third arose from Crassus's support of Gabinius, and the subsequent reconciliation is described in i. 9. 2.

The complimentary and even affectionate tone of this letter contrasts unpleasantly with what Cicero calls Crassus in a contemporary letter to Atticus (iv. 13. 2)—"o hominem nequam!" "what a worthless rascal!"





tinctions, and discharged in full measure the service due to our long-standing intimacy—a service, indeed, long overdue because it has been interrupted by the many vicissitudes of the times.[a]

And it was not, I solemnly asseverate, that I ever 2
lacked the will to show you either respect or honour, but certain pestilent fellows, resenting the praise bestowed upon another, have once or twice estranged you from me, and now and then caused me to change my opinion of you. But an opportunity occurred, for which I had prayed rather than hoped, of enabling me in the zenith of your prosperity to give convincing proof that I was neither forgetful of our mutual goodwill nor disloyal to our friendship. For I have succeeded in making not only your whole family, but every citizen without exception, acknowledge the sincerity of my friendship for you; with the result that that paragon of women, your wife, as well as those admirably affectionate, gallant, and popular men, your sons, rely implicitly upon my counsel and advice, my zeal and my public policy; while both the Senate and the people of Rome understand that during your absence you have nothing so quickly available, or so ready to your hand, as the labour, attention, assiduity, and influence you can claim in all that touches your interests from myself.

I believe the letters of your household are giving 3
you a clear account of what has been, and what is being, done here. As to myself, I am extremely anxious that you should make up your mind and convince yourself of the fact that it was not through any sudden caprice or by accident that I tumbled into the business of protecting your high position, but that from the moment I first set foot in the forum,

attigerim, spectasse semper, ut tibi possem quam maxime esse coniunctus. Quo quidem ex tempore, memoria teneo, neque meam tibi observantiam, neque mihi tuam summam benevolentiam ac liberalitatem defuisse. Si quae inciderunt, non tam re, quam suspicione violata, ea, cum fuerint et falsa et inania, sint evulsa ex omni memoria vitaque nostra. Is enim tu vir es, et eum me esse cupio, ut, quoniam in eadem reipublicae tempora incidimus, coniunctionem amicitiamque nostram utrique no-

4 strum laudi sperem fore. Quamobrem tu, quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes, statues ipse; et, ut spero, statues ex nostra dignitate; ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere offici, quod ad honestatem et gloriam tuam spectet. In quo, etiamsi multi mecum contendent, tamen, cum reliquis omnibus, tum Crassis tuis iudicibus, omnes facile superabo; quos quidem ego ambo unice diligo, sed, in Marcum[1] benevolentia pari, hoc magis sum Publio deditus, quod me, quamquam a pueritia sua semper, tamen hoc tempore maxime, sicut alterum parentem, et observat et diligit.

5 Has litteras velim existimes foederis habituras esse vim, non epistulae, meque ea, quae tibi promitto ac recipio, sanctissime esse observa-

[1] *Orelli*: in Marco *codd.*





I have ever kept in view the possibility of my enjoying the closest association with you. Indeed, I well remember that from that day you have never found me fail in my respect for you, nor I you in your consummate kindness and generosity to me. If there have occurred any ruptures between us, due not so much to acts as to suspicion on either side, false and fanciful as they have proved to be, let them be eradicated for ever from our hearts and lives. For such is your character, and such I desire my own to be, that faced as we are by the same political conditions, I feel sure that our union and friendship will redound to the credit of each of us.

And for that reason you, on your part, will decide 4 for yourself what tribute of esteem should in your judgement be paid me—and I trust you will make that decision with proper regard to my deserts—while I on my part explicitly promise you my active support in a special and unprecedented degree, whatever the nature of the service required, provided the object of it is your honour and renown. And in so doing, though I shall find a large field of competitors, I am sure I shall easily surpass them all in the judgment of the world in general, and particularly of your two sons. I am singularly attached to them both, but while I am equally well-disposed to Marcus, I am the more devoted to Publius, because, though indeed he has always done so from his boyhood, still just now he treats me with greater deference and affection than ever, just as though I were a second father.

I should be glad if you would regard this document 5 as intended to have the force of a compact, and not of a mere letter, and believe that I shall most solemnly observe, and most conscientiously perform,

turum diligentissimeque facturum. Quae a me suscepta defensio est, te absente, dignitatis tuae, in ea iam ego non solum amicitiae nostrae, sed etiam constantiae meae causa permanebo. Quamobrem satis esse hoc tempore arbitratus sum, hoc ad te scribere, me, si quid ipse intellegerem aut ad voluntatem aut ad commodum aut ad amplitudinem tuam pertinere, mea sponte id esse facturum; sin autem quippiam aut a te essem admonitus aut a tuis, effecturum, ut intellegeres, nihil neque te scripsisse neque quemquam tuorum frustra ad me detulisse. Quamobrem velim ita et ipse ad me scribas de omnibus minimis, maximis mediocribusque rebus, ut ad hominem amicissimum; et tuis praecipias, ut opera, consilio, auctoritate, gratia mea sic utantur in omnibus publicis, privatis, forensibus, domesticis, tuis, amicorum, hospitum, clientium tuorum negotiis, ut, quoad eius fieri possit, praesentiae tuae desiderium eo[1] labore minuatur.

## IX

### VATINIUS IMP. S. D. CICERONI SUO

A.U.C. 709.

1 S. V. B. E. E. V. Si tuam consuetudinem in patrociniis tuendis servas, P. Vatinius cliens ad-

[1] eo *M*: meo *rell.*

[a] Vatinius had been appointed to the command of Illyricum in 46 or 45, and on the strength of some successful expeditions against the Dalmatians had been saluted as *imperator* by his soldiers. This is what he means by being "in office." The "danger" to which he refers was when he was accused, in 55 or the beginning of 54, of bribery and corruption (*ambitus*) by Licinius Calvus. His defence was conducted by Cicero, at the order of Pompey and Caesar. *Cf.* i. 9. 4.





all I promise you, and pledge myself to do. I undertook the defence of your high position in your absence, and in that defence I mean to persevere, no longer for the sake of our friendship alone, but now also for the sake of my consistency.

I therefore thought it enough for the present to write to you just this—that, if I saw myself that there was anything to be done in furtherance of your wishes or interests or advancement, I should do it on my own initiative; but if I received any hint from yourself or your friends, I should not fail to convince you that neither have you ever written, nor any of your friends suggested, anything to me that went unheeded. I should like you, therefore, to write to me on all subjects, great, small, or indifferent, as to a most intimate friend; and, moreover, to instruct your people so to avail themselves of my industry, counsel, authority, and influence in all business affairs, public or private, forensic or domestic, affecting yourself or your friends, your visitors or clients, that, so far as is possible, in such labour my yearning for your presence may find alleviation.

## IX

### PUBLIUS VATINIUS[a] TO HIS DEAR CICERO

In camp at Narona,[b] July 11, 45 B.C.

If you are in good health, it is well; I am in good health. If you keep up your practice of appearing for the defence of clients, you have a client at hand 1

[b] A town between Dyrrachium and Histria, on the coast of Illyria.

venit, qui pro se causam dicier vult. Non, puto, repudiabis in honore, quem in periculo recepisti. Ego autem, quem potius adoptem aut invocem, quam illum, quo defendente vincere didici? An verear, ne, qui potentissimorum hominum conspirationem neglexerit pro mea salute, is pro honore meo pusillorum ac malevolorum obtrectationes et invidias non prosternat atque obterat? Quare, si me, sicut soles, amas, suscipe me totum atque hoc, quidquid est oneris ac muneris, pro mea dignitate tibi tuendum ac sustinendum puta. Scis meam fortunam, nescio quomodo, facile obtrectatores invenire, non meo quidem, mehercules, merito; sed quanti id refert, si tamen fato nescio quo accidit? Si qui forte fuerit, qui nostrae dignitati obesse velit, peto a te, ut tuam consuetudinem et liberalitatem in me absente defendendo mihi praestes. Litteras ad senatum de rebus nostris gestis, quo exemplo miseram, infra tibi perscripsi.

2 Dicitur mihi tuus servus anagnostes fugitivus cum Vardaeis esse; de quo tu mihi nihil mandasti, ego tamen, terra marique ut conquireretur, praemandavi; et profecto tibi illum reperiam, nisi si in Dalmatiam aufugerit, et inde tamen aliquando eruam. Tu nos fac ames. Vale.

[a] To a *supplicatio* for good service in Illyria.
[b] His name was Dionysius.





in P. Vatinius, who desires the formal pleading of a case on his behalf. You will not, I take it, refuse the defence of a man when in office, whose defence you undertook when he was in danger. Besides, from my point of view, whom should I rather select and call to my aid than the man whose defence taught me the secret of success? And surely I need not fear that the man who turned his back upon a coalition of the most powerful men in Rome to fight for my political status will not overpower and crush the slanderous jealousies of a pack of contemptible marplots. So if you love me as much as ever, take up my case without reserve, and consider that you should accept and shoulder whatever burden of service it may be that the defence of my prestige involves. You know that my good fortune in some strange way finds plenty of detractors, though I swear I don't deserve it; but what does that matter, if, do what I will, it is somehow my fate to find it so? Should it happen then, by any chance, that there is anybody who wants to prejudice my claims,[a] I beg of you not to abate your customary generosity in defending me in my absence. I have transcribed you below my despatch to the Senate on my achievements; it is an exact copy of what I sent.

They tell me that your slave,[b] your reader who 2
ran away, has joined the Vardaei; you gave me no instructions about him, but I have, nevertheless, issued a provisionary warrant for his pursuit by land and sea, and I am sure I shall find him for you, unless he has escaped to Dalmatia; still I shall rout him out even from there sooner or later. Whatever you do, remain my friend. Farewell.

## XA

P. VATINIUS S. D. CICERONI SUO

A.U.C. 709.

1 S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. De Dionysio tuo adhuc nihil extrico; et eo minus, quod me frigus Dalmaticum, quod illinc eiecit, etiam hic refrigeravit. Sed tamen non desistam, quin illum aliquando eruam. Sed tu omnia mihi dura imperas. De C. Catilio nescio quid ad me scripsisti deprecationis diligentissimae. Apage te cum nostro Sexto Servilio. Nam mehercule ego quoque illum amo. Sed huiusmodi vos clientes, huiusmodi causas recipitis? hominem unum omnium crudelissimum, qui tot ingenuos, matresfamilias, cives Romanos occidit, arripuit, disperdidit, regiones vastavit? Simius, non semissis homo, contra
2 me arma tulit, et eum bello cepi. Sed tamen, mi Cicero, quid facere possum? Omnia, mehercule, cupio, quae tu mihi imperas. Meam animadversionem et supplicium, quo usurus eram in eum, quem cepissem, remitto tibi et condono. Quid illis respondere possum, qui sua bona direpta, naves expugnatas, fratres liberos parentes occisos, actione postulant?

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[a] See preceding letter.
[b] Probably, as Shuckburgh suggests, an old Pompeian officer who had turned pirate.
[c] Nothing is known of this Servilius.
[d] Or, to keep the play upon words, "the monkey, the miserable flunkey."





## XA

THE SAME TO HIS DEAR CICERO

Narona, end of January, 44 B.C.

If you are in good health, it is well; I, too, am in 1
good health. So far I have ferreted out nothing about your Dionysius[a]; and I am the less likely to do so since the cold of Dalmatia which drove me thence has again frozen me up here. I shall not stop, however, until I rout him out some time or other. But you are setting me all sorts of hard tasks. You wrote me some rigmarole of an intercession, and a very earnest one it was, on behalf of Catilius.[b] Then there's our friend Sextus Servilius,[c]—a plague upon you both! for I swear I am as fond of him as you are. But are these the kind of clients, these the kind of cases you gentlemen undertake to defend? A man like Catilius, the most bloodthirsty ruffian alive, who has murdered, roughly handled, utterly ruined so many free-born folk, mothers of families, Roman citizens, and devastated whole districts? The ape —I wouldn't give a groat for the fellow[d]—took up arms against me, so I made him a prisoner of war.

But when all is said and done, my dear Cicero, 2
what can I do? On my oath, I am anxious to carry out your commands to the letter, and I remit and cancel at your request the punishment—it was of a corporal nature—I had intended inflicting upon him if ever I got hold of him. But what answer can I give those who demand legal reparation for the pillage of their property, the capture of their ships, the murder of their brothers, children, and parents?

Si mehercules Appi os haberem, in cuius locum suffectus sum, tamen hoc sustinere non possem. Quid ergo est? faciam omnia sedulo, quae te sciam velle. Defenditur a Q. Volusio, tuo discipulo, si forte ea res poterit adversarios fugare; in eo maxima spes
3 est. Nos, si quid erit istic opus, defendes. Caesar adhuc mihi iniuriam facit; de meis supplicationibus et rebus gestis Dalmaticis adhuc non refert; quasi vero non iustissimi triumphi in Dalmatia res gesserim. Nam si hoc exspectandum est, dum totum bellum conficiam, viginti oppida sunt Dalmatiae antiqua; quae ipsi sibi asciverunt amplius sexaginta. Haec nisi omnia expugno, si mihi supplicationes non decernuntur, longe alia condicione ego sum ac ceteri imperatores.

## Xb

Naronae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Ego post supplicationes mihi decretas in Dalmatiam profectus sum: sex oppida vi oppugnando cepi. . . . Unum hoc,[1] quod erat maximum, quater a

[1] Ulcinium *Martyni-Laguna.*

[a] Probably Appius Claudius Pulcher, who preceded Cicero as governor of Cilicia. The vacancy in the college of augurs caused by his death in 48 seems to have been filled by Vatinius.

[b] He had been with Cicero in Cilicia. *Cf. Ep.* xx. 3, in this book.

[c] A *supplicatio* had been granted to Vatinius in September, but no arrangements had been made for its celebration, nor did Caesar bring the matter before the Senate. Vatinius resented this and the ignoring of his subsequent Dalmatian exploits in November and December. He did eventually obtain a triumph at the end of the following year, 43.





I swear if I had the cheek of Appius,[a] whose place I was elected to fill, even then I could not tackle such a job. What about it then? Whatever I know you want done I shall be careful to do. He is being defended by Q. Volusius,[b] a pupil of yours, if haply that fact can rout his opponents; there lies his best hope.

As for myself, if there be any need for it where 3
you are, you will defend me. Caesar is still treating me unjustly. He still refuses to bring before the Senate the question of the supplications[c] due to me and of my Dalmatian exploits, as though forsooth what I achieved in Dalmatia did not most fully justify even a triumph. For if I have got to wait till I have brought the whole war to a close, well, Dalmatia has twenty towns to start with, and those they have annexed are over sixty. If I have no supplication decreed me unless I take them all by storm, my treatment is very different from that of any other commander in the world.

## Xb[d]

THE SAME TO THE SAME

Narona, December 5, 45 B.C.

After the supplications had been decreed me, I 1
set out for Dalmatia; six towns I stormed by force and captured . . . . This single town,[e] the largest of them all, I have now taken four times; for I took

[d] This letter, according to Tyrrell, was written before, and not after X*a*.

[e] Ulcinium (another reading suggested) is a coast town a little north of Dyrrachium.

me iam captum. Quattuor enim turres et quattuor muros cepi, et arcem eorum totam, ex qua me nives, frigora, imbres detruserunt; indigneque, mi Cicero, oppidum captum et bellum iam confectum relinquere sum coactus. Quare te rogo et oro, si opus erit, ad Caesarem meam causam agas, meque tibi in omnes partes defendendum putes, hoc existimans, neminem te tui amantiorem habere. Vale.

## XI

M. T. C. S. D. P. VATINIO IMPERATORI

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Grata tibi mea esse officia non miror. Cognovi enim te gratissimum omnium, idque numquam destiti praedicare. Nec enim tu mihi habuisti modo gratiam, verum etiam cumulatissime rettulisti. Quamobrem reliquis tuis rebus omnibus pari me studio
2 erga te et eadem voluntate cognosces. Quod mihi feminam primariam, Pompeiam, uxorem tuam, commendas, cum Sura nostro statim tuis litteris lectis locutus sum, ut ei meis verbis diceret, ut, quidquid opus esset, mihi denuntiaret; me omnia, quae ea vellet, summo studio curaque facturum; itaque

[a] There is little doubt that Vatinius had been compelled to retreat by stronger forces than "snow, cold, and rain."
[b] "This is interesting as showing the strict account which Caesar exacted of any failure on the part of his generals, and the influence which Cicero must have been considered to possess with him." Tyrrell.





four towers and four walls, and their whole citadel as well, whence I was forcibly dislodged by snow, cold, and rain; and it is a shame, my dear Cicero, that I have been compelled to leave behind me a town I had taken, and a war I had practically brought to an end.[a] And that is why I beg you, if the need arises, to plead my cause with Caesar,[b] and to consider it incumbent upon you to defend me in every respect, bearing in mind the fact that you have no more sincere friend than myself. Farewell.

## XI

CICERO TO VATINIUS

Rome, late in October, 45 B.C.

I am not surprised at your gratitude to me for my services[c]; for I have found you to be the most grateful of men, and I have never ceased to proclaim that fact. For not only have you felt grateful to me, but you have shown your gratitude in full and overflowing measure. And for that reason you will find that in all the rest of your affairs my activity on your behalf is unimpaired and my goodwill unaltered. 1

You commend to me that most excellent lady, your wife Pompeia; well, as soon as I had read your letter I had a conversation with our friend Sura,[d] and asked him to tell her from me to inform me, without hesitation or reserve, if there were anything she required, and that I would do all she wanted with the utmost energy and attention; and so I will, and 2

[c] *i.e.*, "in procuring you a *supplicatio*."
[d] Probably a confidential freedman of Vatinius.

faciam, eamque, si opus esse videbitur, ipse conveniam. Tu tamen ei velim scribas, ut nullam rem neque tam magnam, neque tam parvam putet, quae mihi aut difficilis aut parum me digna videatur. Omnia, quae in tuis rebus agam, et non laboriosa mihi et honesta videbuntur. De Dionysio, si me amas, confice; quamcumque ei fidem dederis, praestabo. Si vero improbus fuerit, ut est, duces eum captum in triumpho. Dalmatis di male faciant, qui tibi molesti sunt. Sed, ut scribis, brevi capientur et illustrabunt res tuas gestas; semper enim habiti sunt bellicosi. [Vale.]

## XII

M. C. S. D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

A.U.C. 698.

1 Coram me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus; quae nunc expromam absens audacius; epistula enim non erubescit. Ardeo cupiditate incredibili, neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis. Quod

[a] L. Lucceius was now writing his history of Rome from the Marsic or Social war. He had had some experience of public life, having prosecuted Catiline in 64 for murders committed during the Sullan proscriptions, and having stood, though unsuccessfully, for the consulship with Caesar in 60. After that he seems to have devoted himself, as Sallust did, to history. He strongly supported Pompey in the Civil War, but must have been pardoned by Caesar, as we have a letter of his to Cicero (v. 14) dated 45 B.C.





if I think it necessary to do so I shall call upon the lady myself. But, for all that, I should like you to write to her yourself, and tell her not to think there is anything either so important, or so insignificant, as to seem to me either difficult, or beneath my dignity. Anything I may have to do in relation to your affairs I shall regard as a labour of love and an honour to myself. As to Dionysius, as you are my friend, wind up the business; whatever pledge you have given him, I shall redeem it. If, however, he proves himself a scoundrel (as he is), you will lead him captive in your triumph. Perdition seize the Dalmatians, who are worrying you! But, as you say, they will soon be taken, and so shed lustre on your exploits; for they have always been accounted a warlike race.

## XII

CICERO TO LUCCEIUS [a]

Antium, April or May, 56 B.C.

Often, when I have attempted to discuss this topic 1
with you face to face, I have been deterred by a sort of almost boorish bashfulness; but now that I am away from you I shall bring it all out with greater boldness; for a letter does not blush. I am fired by an extraordinary, but not—as *I* think—reprehensible eagerness to have my name rendered illustrious and renowned by no other pen than yours. And though

Cicero evidently took much pains with this letter, which he describes to Atticus (*Att.* iv. 6, *ad fin.*) as being *valde bella*, "an exceedingly *pretty* letter." Anyhow, Lucceius promised to do what Cicero wanted.

etsi mihi saepe ostendis te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae. Genus enim scriptorum tuorum, etsi erat semper a me vehementer exspectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam, meque ita vel cepit vel incendit, ut cuperem quam celerrime res nostras monumentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quamdam immortalitatis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditas, ut vel auctoritate testimonii tui, vel indicio benevolentiae, vel suavitate ingeni, vivi perfruamur.

2 Neque tamen, haec quum scribebam, eram nescius, quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum; sed quia videbam, Italici belli et civilis historiam iam a te paene esse perfectam (dixeras autem mihi, te reliquas res ordiri) deesse mihi nolui, quin te admonerem, ut cogitares, coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere, an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Phocicum[1] bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum (qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea, quae dixi, bella separaverunt), tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse; sed

[1] *Westermann*: Troicum *M.*





you often assure me that such is your intention, you will still, I hope, pardon my being so impatient. The fact is, that the style of your works is such that, though I had always expected great things, you have surpassed my expectations, and have so fascinated me or fired my imagination as to make me desire that my achievements should be put on record at the earliest possible moment by none other than you yourself. And it is not only the prospect of celebrity in ages to come that impels me to grasp what I may call the hope of immortality, but also that desire I have mentioned to enjoy to the full while yet alive, whether it be the pronouncement of your weighty testimony, or the expression of your friendly feeling, or the charm of your genius.

But even as I write these words I can quite appre- 2
ciate the pressure upon you of the heavy burden of various works you have undertaken and, indeed, already begun. But seeing that you had now almost completed your *History of the Italian and Civil Wars* —and you had also told me that you were breaking the ground for other enterprises—I would not do myself the disservice of failing to suggest that you should ask yourself the question, whether you would prefer to weave my part in it into the general context of your History, or else, as many of the Greek annalists have done—Callisthenes in his *Phocian War*, Timaeus in his *War of Pyrrhus*, Polybius in his *Numantine War*, all of whom respectively detached the wars I have mentioned from the continuity of their histories—you, too, in like manner, would disconnect a civil conspiracy from wars waged by public enemies and aliens. I can quite see that it makes but little difference to my reputation, but

ad properationem meam quiddam interest, non te exspectare, dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam et tempus arripere. Et simul, si uno in argumento unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur, cerno iam animo, quanto omnia uberiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro, quam impudenter faciam, qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam (potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua), deinde etiam, ut ornes mea, postulem. Quid, si
3 illa tibi non tanto opere videntur ornanda? Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae fines transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam, quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae neglegas, gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime quodam in prooemio scripsisti, a qua te flecti non magis potuisse demonstras, quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a voluptate, eam si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere, amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedat veritas, largiare. Quod si te adducemus, ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et
4 copia tua. A principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse; in quo et illa poteris uti civilium

[a] In the apologue of Prodicus in Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1. 21. Lucceius had evidently in the preface to some work of his disclaimed showing any "personal partiality."





it certainly does affect somewhat my impatience of any delay, that you should not wait until you come to the proper place for it, but promptly grapple with the whole of that particular episode, and the then political situation. At the same time, if all your mind is concentrated upon one subject and upon one personality, I see even now in my mind's eye, how much richer, and more artistic will be the result. And yet I am quite sensible of my presumption, first, in laying such a burden upon you (for your other engagements may well justify your refusing me), and then in demanding actually that you should eulogize my achievements. What if they seem to you to be not so very deserving of eulogy?

But anyhow, if a man has once transgressed the 3
bounds of modesty, the best he can do is to be shameless out and out. So I frankly ask you again and again to eulogize my actions with even more warmth than perhaps you feel, and in that respect to disregard the canons of history; and—to remind you of that personal partiality, of which you have written most charmingly in a certain prefatory essay, clearly showing that you could have been as little swayed by it as Xenophon's famous Hercules by Pleasure,[a] —if you find that such personal partiality enhances my merits even to exaggeration in your eyes, I ask you not to disdain it, and of your bounty to bestow on our love even a little more than may be allowed by truth. And if I can induce you to undertake what I suggest, you will, I assure myself, find a theme worthy even of your able and flowing pen.

From the beginning of the conspiracy to my return 4
from exile it seems to me that a fair-sized volume could be compiled, in which you will be able to make

commutationum scientia vel in explicandis causis rerum novarum vel in remediis incommodorum, cum et reprehendes ea, quae vituperanda duces, et, quae placebunt, exponendis rationibus comprobabis; et, si liberius, ut consuesti, agendum putabis, multorum in nos perfidiam, insidias, proditionem notabis. Multam etiam casus nostri tibi varietatem in scribendo suppeditabunt, plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo te scriptore[1] tenere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines; quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt iucundae. Habet enim praeteriti doloris secura recordatio
5 delectationem. Ceteris vero, nulla perfunctis propria molestia, casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus, etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda. Quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui tum denique sibi avelli iubet spiculum, posteaquam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse salvum; ut etiam in vulneris dolore aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga redituque tenetur? Etenim ordo

[1] *MR*: in legendo tuo scripto *Orelli*.

[a] The famous Theban general and statesman. Having invaded the Peloponnesus for the fourth time in 362, he gained a decisive victory over the Lacedaemonians at Mantinea, where he died as described above.

[b] If the text is correct, Cicero is wrong, as Themistocles never returned. Palmer suggests that Aristeides is meant, but Cicero was not exempt from *humana incuria* in such matters.





use of your exceptional knowledge of civil changes, whether in disentangling the causes of the revolution or suggesting remedies for its calamities, while you reprehend what you consider blameworthy, and justify what you approve, setting forth your reasons in either case; and if you think you should treat the subject with exceptional freedom of speech, as has been your habit, you will stigmatize the disloyalty, intrigues, and treachery of which many have been guilty towards me. Moreover, what has happened to me will supply you with an infinite variety of material, abounding in a sort of pleasurable interest which could powerfully grip the attention of the reader—if you are the writer. For there is nothing more apt to delight the reader than the manifold changes of circumstance, and vicissitudes of fortune, which, however undesirable I found them to be in my own experience, will certainly afford entertainment in the reading; for the placid recollection of a past sorrow is not without its charm.

The rest of the world, however, who have passed 5
through no sorrow of their own, but are the untroubled spectators of the disasters of others, find a pleasure even in their pity. Take, for instance, the way the great Epaminondas[a] died at Mantinea; who of us but recalls it with delight, mingled with a certain compassion? Then only does he bid them pluck out the javelin, when in answer to his question he is told that his shield is safe; and so, despite the agony of his wound, with a mind at ease he died a glorious death. Who does not feel his sympathy excited and sustained in reading of the exile and return of Themistocles?[b] The fact is that the

ipse annalium mediocriter nos retinet, quasi enumeratione fastorum. At viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, exspectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem; si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima
6 lectionis voluptate. Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris, ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum eventorumque nostrorum; habet enim varios actus multasque actiones et consiliorum et temporum. Ac non vereor, ne assentatiuncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, cum hoc demonstrem, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque enim tu is es, qui, quid sis, nescias, et qui non eos magis, qui te non admirentur, invidos, quam eos, qui laudent, assentatores arbitrere; neque autem ego sum ita demens, ut me sempiternae gloriae per eum commendari velim, qui non ipse quoque in me commen-
7 dando propriam ingeni gloriam consequatur. Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat; sed quod

[a] Or "are crowned with a glorious death." Shuckburgh.





regular chronological record of events in itself interests us as little as if it were a catalogue of historical occurrences; but the uncertain and varied fortunes of a statesman who frequently rises to prominence give scope for surprise, suspense, delight, annoyance, hope, fear; should those fortunes, however, end in some striking consummation [a] the result is a complete satisfaction of mind which is the most perfect pleasure a reader can enjoy.

It will, therefore, more closely coincide with my 6
wishes if you prove to have adopted the plan of detaching from the main trend of your narrative, in which you embrace the uninterrupted history of events, this drama, if I may so call it, of my own particular actions and experiences; for it contains a variety of acts and a number of scenes in the way of political measures and situations. And I am not afraid of your thinking that I am laying a trap for your favour by a paltry piece of flattery, when I declare to you outright that I had rather be complimented and extolled by you than by anybody else. For neither are you the kind of man to be blind to your own merits, and not to suspect those who fail to admire you of jealousy, rather than those who praise you of sycophancy; nor am I, on the other hand, so irrational as to desire the vindication of my claims to everlasting renown to be undertaken by a man who does not, in the very act of vindicating those claims, himself win that renown which is the due meed of genius.

When the great Alexander himself was anxious 7
to have his portrait painted by Apelles and his statue made by Lysippus in preference to all others, it was not as a mark of favour to them, but because

illorum artem cum ipsis, tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant; quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere elaborarunt. Unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines omnium statuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero, quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum, sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo, aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri, et in republicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti atque in primis probati; ut mihi non solum praeconium, quod, cum in Sigaeum venisset Alexander, ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naevianus, qui non tantum *laudari* se laetatur, sed
8 addit etiam, *a laudato viro*. Quod si a te non impetraro,[1] hoc est, si quae te res impedierit (neque enim fas esse arbitror quidquam me rogantem abs te non

[1] *Wesenberg*: impetro *codd.*

[a] King of Sparta, who defeated the allied forces of Thebes, Corinth, and Argos at Coronea in 394, but was defeated by the Thebans at Leuctra in 371. He was short and lame.

[b] The whole line in Naevius's *Hector Proficiscens* is "laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro."





he thought that their art would reflect as much glory upon themselves as it would upon himself. Now those artists certainly made familiar to strangers the likenesses of the person; but even if there were no such likenesses in existence, illustrious men would be none the less renowned. The great Agesilaus[a] of Sparta, who never submitted himself to either painter or sculptor, is no less a man to be talked about than those who have taken particular pains to be so represented; for a single monograph of Xenophon in praise of that king has had a far greater vogue than any painting or statue of them all. Again, it will more effectually conduce both to my happiness of mind and the dignity of my memory to have won a place in your history than in that of others, for this reason, that not only shall I have enjoyed the advantage of your literary talent, as Timoleon enjoyed that of Timaeus, and Themistocles that of Herodotus, but also the moral authority of a man highly distinguished and of established reputation, one, moreover, recognized and approved as a leader of men in the greatest and gravest issues of public life; so that it will appear that I have had vouchsafed me not only the celebrity which Alexander, when he visited Sigaeum, declared that Homer had bestowed upon Achilles, but also the weighty testimony of a great and distinguished man. I have a liking for Naevius's well-known Hector, who is not only delighted "to be praised" but all the more, he adds, "by one who has himself been praised."[b]

But if I fail to induce you to grant me this request, 8
by which I mean if anything prevents your doing so (for it is inconceivable to me that any specific request of mine should be refused by you), I shall

impetrare), cogar fortasse facere, quod nonnulli saepe reprehenderunt — scribam ipse de me — multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia. Et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum, et praetereant, si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam, ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, multi denique reprehendant et dicant, verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymnicorum, qui, cum ceteris coronas imposuerint victoribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce ipsi se victores esse
9 praedicent. Haec nos vitare cupimus et, si recipis causam nostram, vitabimus; idque ut facias, rogamus. Ac ne forte mirere, cur, cum mihi saepe ostenderis, te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia atque eventus litteris mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et tam multis verbis petamus, illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus; ut et ceteri, viventibus nobis, ex libris tuis nos cognoscant, et nosmetipsi vivi
10 gloriola nostra perfruamur. His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non est molestum, rescribas mihi velim. Si enim suscipis causam, conficiam com-





perhaps be forced to do what some have frequently found fault with—write about myself; and yet I should be following the example of many distinguished men. But, as you are well aware, this kind of composition has a double drawback—the author is obliged to write about himself with a certain reserve, when there is anything to be praised, and to pass over what is deserving of censure. Besides which, it is less convincing, less impressive, and there are many in short who take exception to it, and say that the heralds at the public games show more modesty; for when they have crowned all the other victors and announced their names in a loud voice, and are then themselves presented with a crown before the dispersal of the games, they engage the services of some other herald, so as not to proclaim themselves victors with their own voices.

This is just what I desire to avoid, and if you accept 9
my brief, I shall avoid it; and I entreat you to do so. You will perhaps wonder, when you have so repeatedly assured me of your intention to commit to writing with the utmost precision the policy and results of my consulship, why I am making this request of you so earnestly and at such length at this present moment; the reason is that burning desire I have, of which I spoke at the beginning of my letter, to hurry matters on (for I am of an eager disposition), so that not only the world may get to know me through your books while I am yet alive, but that I myself also may have in my own lifetime the full enjoyment of my little bit of glory.

If it is no inconvenience to you, I should like you 10
to write back word what you intend to do about all this; for if you undertake the business, I shall put

mentarios rerum omnium; sin autem differs me in tempus aliud, coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis, et ea, quae habes instituta, perpolies nosque diliges.

## XIII

M. C. S. D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Quamquam ipsa consolatio litterarum tuarum mihi gratissima est (declarat enim summam benevolentiam, coniunctam pari prudentia), tamen illum fructum ex iis litteris vel maximum cepi, quod te praeclare res humanas contemnentem et optime contra fortunam paratum armatumque cognovi; quam equidem laudem sapientiae statuo esse maximam, non aliunde pendere, nec extrinsecus aut bene aut male
2 vivendi suspensas habere rationes. Quae cogitatio, cum mihi non omnino excidisset (etenim penitus insederat), vi tamen tempestatum et concursu calamitatum erat aliquantum labefactata atque convulsa; cui te opitulari et video, et id fecisse etiam proximis litteris multumque profecisse sentio. Itaque hoc saepius dicendum tibique non significandum solum, sed





together some notes on all that occurred; but if you put me off till a later date, I shall talk it over with you in person. Meanwhile I am sure you will not be idle, and will complete the polishing of the works you have in hand, and remain my dear friend.

## XIII

CICERO TO LUCCEIUS

Astura, March, 45 B.C.

Though the consolation your letter affords me is 1
very acceptable to me in itself—for the genuine friendliness it evinces is matched by the sound sense with which it is combined—still quite the greatest profit I derived from that letter was the inference I drew from it, that you had a magnificent contempt for the vicissitudes of human affairs and were admirably prepared and equipped to bear the blows of fortune; and indeed, in my judgment, the highest achievement of philosophy is this—to be independent of the outside world, and not to make your interpretation of life, as happy or unhappy, dependent upon external circumstances.

Now though this belief had not wholly fallen away 2
from me (for it had taken deep root), yet it had been seriously shaken and shattered by the violence of tempests and the concentrated assault of misfortunes; but now I see that you are coming to its rescue, and feel that you have actually done so by your last letter, and with much success; and so I think I should tell you repeatedly, and not only

etiam declarandum arbitror, nihil mihi esse potuisse
3 tuis litteris gratius. Ad consolandum autem cum illa valent, quae eleganter copioseque collegisti, tum nihil plus, quam quod firmitudinem gravitatemque animi tui perspexi; quam non imitari turpissimum existimo. Itaque hoc etiam fortiorem me puto, quam teipsum, praeceptorem fortitudinis, quod tu mihi videre spem nonnullam habere, haec aliquando futura meliora. Casus enim gladiatorii similitudinesque eae, tum rationes in ea disputatione a te collectae, vetabant me reipublicae penitus diffidere. Itaque alterum minus mirum, fortiorem te esse, cum aliquid speres, alterum mirum, spe ulla teneri. Quid est enim non ita affectum, ut id non deletum exstinctumque esse fateare? Circumspice omnia membra reipublicae quae notissima sunt tibi; nullum reperies profecto, quod non fractum debilitatumve sit. Quae persequerer, si aut melius ea viderem, quam tu vides, aut commemorare possem sine dolore; quamquam tuis monitis praeceptisque omnis est abiciendus dolor.
4 Ergo et domestica feremus, ut censes, et publica

[a] Apparently Lucceius had suggested that you never could tell who would win.





hint, but make it quite plain to you, that nothing could have given me greater pleasure than your letter.

But while the arguments you have assembled with 3
such good taste and wealth of erudition are cogent aids to consolation, nothing is so cogent as my clear realization of the firmness and imperturbability of your spirit, and not to imitate it would, I feel, be most discreditable to me. I therefore claim to have more courage than even you yourself, who are my instructor in courage, in so far as you seem to me to have a definite hope that the present situation will some day improve. For obviously your "gladiators' risks and hazards"[a] and those "analogous instances" of yours, besides the arguments strung together in your dissertation, were calculated to forbid my utterly despairing of the Republic. It is not, therefore, from one point of view, so surprising that you should have more courage than I, seeing that you have some hope to go upon, but from another, it is indeed surprising that you should entertain any hope at all. For what is there that has not been so grievously damaged, but that you might as well admit that it has been destroyed and annihilated? Look around at all the limbs of the state which are best known to you; not one will you find, I am sure, that has not been broken or incapacitated; and I should pursue the subject, if I either saw things more clearly than I know you do, or could talk about them without sorrow; and yet, according to your admonitions and instructions, all sorrow must be thrown to the winds.

My domestic troubles therefore I shall bear as you 4
think it right I should, and the public troubles with

paullo etiam fortius fortasse, quam tu ipse, qui praecipis. Te enim spes aliqua consolatur, ut scribis; nos autem erimus etiam in omnium desperatione fortes, ut tu tamen idem et hortaris et praecipis. Das enim mihi iucundas recordationes conscientiae nostrae rerumque earum, quas te in primis auctore gessimus. Praestitimus enim patriae non minus certe, quam debuimus—plus profecto, quam est ab animo cuiusquam aut consilio hominis postulatum.

5 Ignosces mihi de meipso aliquid praedicanti; quarum enim tu rerum cogitatione nos levare aegritudine voluisti, earum etiam commemoratione lenimur. Itaque, ut mones, quantum potero, me ab omnibus molestiis et angoribus abducam transferamque animum ad ea, quibus secundae res ornantur, adversae adiuvantur; tecumque et ero tantum, quantum patietur utriusque aetas et valetudo, et, si esse una minus poterimus, quam volemus, animorum tamen coniunctione iisdem studiis ita fruemur, ut numquam non una esse videamur.

## XIV

L. LUCCEIUS Q. F. S. D. M. T. C. M. F.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Si vales, bene est; ego valeo, sicut soleo; paullulo tamen etiam deterius, quam soleo. Te requisivi





a little more courage perhaps than even yourself, who are my instructor. For you (so you write) have some degree of hope to comfort you, whereas I shall maintain my courage even amid utter despair, as, in spite of that despair, you yourself are at once exhorting and instructing me to do. For you cheer me with reminders of what I cannot but feel that I have done, and of what I achieved, with you in the first rank of my supporters. Yes, I did for my country certainly no less than I was bound to do—assuredly more than has ever been demanded of the heart or head of any human being.

You will, I hope, forgive me if I am somewhat self- 5
laudatory; it was your intention, I know, to raise me from my depression by making me think about certain things; well, it soothes me to talk about them too. And so, as you advise, I mean to withdraw myself as much as possible from all that troubles and distresses me, and to turn my thoughts to the things which add a lustre to prosperity, while they help one to bear adversity. So far as our age and health on either side permit, I shall be your companion, and if we cannot be as much together as we could wish, we shall still so enjoy our affinity of mind, and identity of tastes, as to seem to be always together.

## XIV

LUCIUS LUCCEIUS, SON OF QUINTUS, TO MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, SON OF MARCUS

Rome, May 9, 45 B.C.

If you are in good health, all is well. I enjoy my 1
usual health, and yet indeed it is not quite as good as usual. I have often missed you, as I wanted to

saepius, ut viderem. Romae quia postea non fuisti, quam discesseram,[1] miratus sum; quod item nunc miror. Non habeo certum, quae te res hinc maxime retrahat. Si solitudine delectare, cum scribas et aliquid agas eorum, quorum consuesti, gaudeo neque reprehendo tuum consilium; nam nihil isto potest esse iucundius, non modo miseris his temporibus et luctuosis, sed etiam tranquillis et optatis, praesertim vel animo defetigato tuo, qui nunc requietem quaerat ex magnis occupationibus, vel erudito, qui semper aliquid ex se promat, quod alios delectet, te ipsum
2 laudibus illustret. Sin autem, sicut indicas,[2] lacrimis ac tristitiae te tradidisti, doleo, quia doles et angere; non possum te non, si concedis, quod sentimus, ut liberius dicamus, accusare. Quid enim? tu solus aperta non videbis, qui propter acumen occultissima perspicis? tu non intelleges, te querellis quotidianis nihil proficere? non intelleges, duplicari sollicitudines,
3 quas levare te tua prudentia postulat? Quod si non possumus aliquid proficere suadendo, gratia contendimus et rogando, si quid nostra causa vis, ut istis te molestiis laxes et ad convictum nostrum redeas, id est ad consuetudinem vel nostram com-

[1] discesserat *M*[1].
[2] discesseras *ed. Neapol.*: dicas seras *M.*





see you. I was surprised at your never having been in Rome after I had left, and I am still surprised at it. I am not sure what it is in particular that keeps drawing you away from Rome. If solitude is what attracts you, because you are writing or busy with some work of the kind you are generally engaged upon, I am glad, and find no fault with your arrangement; for nothing can be more refreshing than such solitude, not only in these cheerless and lugubrious times, but even in times of tranquillity, the times we pray for, especially to a mind like yours, whether we regard it as being tired out and therefore *now* in need of repose after its arduous engagements, or as a mine of erudition and therefore *always* producing something out of its store to give pleasure to others and reflect glory upon yourself.

If, however, as you suggest, you have abandoned 2
yourself to tears and dejection, I grieve, of course, because you grieve and are so distressed; but if you allow me to say quite frankly what I feel, I cannot but blame you. Come now! Shall you be the only man not to see what is obvious—you who with your keen wits penetrate the deepest secrets? You, the only man not to perceive that your daily lamentations are doing you no good; you, not to perceive that the anxieties your common-sense calls upon you to minimize are thus being doubled?

Well, if I can do no good by trying to persuade 3
you, I entreat you as a personal favour and specially request you, if there is anything you wish to do for my sake, to burst the bonds of those worries of yours and come back to live with us; in other words, to resume your normal habits of life, whether such as are common to all of us, or such as are peculiarly and

munem, vel tuam solius ac propriam. Cupio non obtundere te, si non delectare nostro studio; cupio deterrere, ne permaneas in incepto. Nunc[1] duae res istae contrariae me conturbant, ex quibus aut in altera mihi velim, si potes, obtemperes, aut in altera non offendas. Vale.

## XV

M. CICERO S. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

A.U.C. 709.

1 Omnis amor tuus ex omnibus partibus se ostendit in iis litteris, quas a te proxime accepi, non ille quidem mihi ignotus, sed tamen gratus et optatus, dicerem iucundus, nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem; neque ob eam unam causam, quam tu suspicaris, et in qua me lenissimis et amantissimis verbis utens, re graviter accusas, sed quod, illius tanti vulneris quae remedia esse debebant, ea nulla sunt.

2 Quid enim? ad amicosne confugiam? Quam multi sunt? Habuimus enim fere communes, quorum alii occiderunt, alii nescio quo pacto obduruerent. Tecum vivere possem equidem, et maxime vellem;

[1] *Martyni-Laguna and subsequent edd.*; cum *MSS., putting a comma after* offendas, *and admitting* vale *into the sentence.*





exclusively your own. I am anxious not to pester you, if this friendly earnestness on my part is distasteful to you; but I am anxious to discourage your persistence in the course you have adopted. Now I am distracted by those two incompatible desires; and I should wish you either to take my advice, if possible, as regards the latter of them, or not to be offended with me as regards the former.[a] Farewell.

## XV

CICERO TO LUCCEIUS

Astura, May 10–12, 45 B.C.

The full measure of your affection for me stands completely revealed in the letter I last received from you; not that I was unaware of it, but it is none the less agreeable and welcome to me—I should have said "delightful" had not that word dropped out of my vocabulary for all time, and not for that reason only which you surmise, and as to which, while employing the most gentle and loving terms, in substance you reprimand me severely, but because everything that should have helped to heal the bitter wound has ceased to exist. 1

For what am I to do? Am I to take refuge with my friends? How many, tell me, are left of them? For they were for the most part yours as much as mine; but some of them have fallen, and others have somehow grown callous. I certainly might have lived with you, and nothing would have given me greater pleasure; old acquaintance, affection, 2

[a] *i.e.*, "my pestering you by my importunity."

vetustas, amor, consuetudo, studia paria; quod vinclum (quaeso) deest nostrae coniunctioni? Possumusne igitur esse una? Nec mehercule intellego, quid impediat. Sed certe adhuc non fuimus, cum essemus vicini in Tusculano, in Puteolano. Nam quid dicam in Urbe? in qua, cum forum commune sit,
3 vicinitas non requiritur. Sed casu nescio quo in ea tempora nostra aetas incidit, ut, cum maxime florere nos oporteret, tum vivere etiam puderet. Quod enim mihi poterat esse perfugium, spoliato et domesticis et forensibus ornamentis atque solatiis? Litterae, credo, quibus utor assidue; quid enim aliud facere possum? Sed, nescio quomodo, ipsae illae excludere me a portu et perfugio videntur, et quasi exprobrare, quod in ea vita maneam, in qua
4 nihil insit, nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis. Hic tu ea me abesse Urbe miraris, in qua domus nihil delectare possit, summum sit odium temporum, hominum, fori, curiae? Itaque sic litteris utor, in quibus consumo omne tempus, non ut ab his medicinam perpetuam, sed ut exiguam doloris oblivionem
5 petam. Quod si id egissemus, ego atque tu, quod ne in mentem quidem nobis veniebat propter quotidianos metus, omne tempus una fuissemus; neque me valetudo tua offenderet, neque te maeror meus.

[a] To which Lucceius refers in § 1 of the preceding letter.





intimacy, the same tastes—what bond is lacking, I ask you, to make our union complete? Can we not then be together? For the life of me I cannot see what is to prevent it. But as a matter of fact we have not been so, though we were neighbours in the country at Tusculum and Puteoli; I need not say in Rome, where the forum is a meeting-place for all, so that propinquity of residence is of no account.

But by some evil chance or other our age is con- 3
fronted with conditions which, at the very moment when I ought to have been more than ever prosperous, make me actually ashamed of being alive. What possible sanctuary is left to me, despoiled as I am of all that might have graced and comforted both my private and public life? Literary work, I presume; and indeed it is that which I find an unfailing resource; for what else is there for me to do? But even literature itself seems somehow or other to shut me out of any haven of refuge, and to cast it in my teeth that I cleave to a life which promises nothing but the prolongation of a period of utter misery.

Such being the situation, can you wonder at my 4
absenting myself from a city where I can find no pleasure in my home, and where I utterly loathe the life one leads, the men one meets, the bar and the senate-house? Accordingly I resort to literary work on which I spend all my time—not to get out of it a lasting cure, but some little forgetfulness of my sorrow.

But had you and I done what, owing to our daily 5
apprehension, it never so much as occurred to us to do, we should have been together all the time, and I should have found your ill-health[a] no more of an objection than you would my melancholy brooding.

Quod, quantum fieri poterit, consequamur. Quid enim est utrique nostrum aptius? Propediem te igitur videbo.

## XVI

M. T. CICERO S. T. TITIO

A.U.C. 706.

1 Etsi unus ex omnibus minime sum ad te consolandum accommodatus, quod tantum ex tuis molestiis cepi doloris, ut consolatione ipse egerem, tamen, cum longius a summi luctus acerbitate meus abesset dolor, quam tuus, statui nostrae necessitudinis esse meaeque in te benevolentiae, non tacere tanto in tuo maerore tamdiu, sed adhibere aliquam modicam consolationem, quae levare dolorem tuum posset, si
2 minus sanare potuisset. Est autem consolatio pervulgata quidem illa maxime, quam semper in ore atque in animo habere debemus, homines nos ut esse meminerimus ea lege natos, ut omnibus telis fortunae proposita sit vita nostra, neque esse recusandum, quominus ea, qua nati sumus, conditione vivamus, neve tam graviter eos casus feramus, quos nullo consilio vitare possumus, eventisque aliorum memoria repe-
3 tendis, nihil accidisse nobis novi cogitemus. Neque hae neque ceterae consolationes, quae sunt a sapientissimis viris usurpatae memoriaeque litteris pro-

[a] It is uncertain what Titius this was; most probably the T. Titius to whom *Ep.* lxxv. in Book XIII. is addressed. He had been Pompey's *legatus* and entertained Cicero at Anagnia in 56.





Let us carry out the suggestion, so far as it proves possible; for what could suit either of us better? I shall see you then at an early date.

## XVI

CICERO TO TITIUS [a]

Rome (?), 46 B.C. (?).

Although there is nobody in the world less fitted 1
to offer you consolation, since your tribulations have caused me such sorrow that I am myself in need of consolation, still, seeing that my own sorrow was further removed from the bitterness of most intense grief than was yours, I decided that it was due to our close connexion and my friendly feeling for you that I should not remain so long silent while you are in such affliction, but should offer you some such measure of consolation as might mitigate, if it could not succeed in remedying, your sorrow.

Now there is a form of consolation, extremely 2
commonplace I grant you, which we ought always to have on our lips and in our hearts—to remember that we are human beings, born under a law which renders our life a target for all the slings and arrows of fortune, and that it is not for us to refuse to live under the conditions of our birth, nor to resent so impatiently the misfortunes we can by no process of forethought avoid, but, by recalling to mind what has befallen others, to induce the reflection that what has happened to ourselves is nothing new.

But neither these nor any other forms of consola- 3
tion employed by the wisest of men and handed down

ditae, tantum videntur proficere debere, quantum status ipse nostrae civitatis, et haec prolatio temporum perditorum, cum beatissimi sint, qui liberos non susceperunt, minus autem miseri, qui his temporibus amiserunt, quam si eosdem bona aut denique aliqua
4 republica perdidissent. Quod si tuum te desiderium movet aut si tuarum rerum cogitatione maeres, non facile exhauriri tibi istum dolorem posse universum puto. Sin illa te res cruciat, quae magis amoris est, ut eorum, qui occiderunt, miserias lugeas—ut ea non dicam, quae saepissime et legi et audivi, nihil mali esse in morte; in qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda sit; sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quae non sentiatur—hoc tamen non dubitans confirmare possum,[a] ea misceri, parari, impendere reipublicae, quae qui reliquerit, nullo modo mihi quidem deceptus esse videatur. Quid est enim iam non modo pudori, probitati, virtuti, rectis studiis, bonis artibus, sed omnino libertati ac saluti loci? Non, mehercule, quemquam audivi hoc gravissimo et pestilentissimo anno adolescentulum aut puerum mortuum, qui mihi non a diis immortalibus ereptus ex his miseriis atque ex iniquissima
5 conditione vitae videretur. Quare, si tibi unum

[a] "Be a loser by the exchange." Melmoth. "Consider himself unfairly dealt with." Tyrrell.





in literature to posterity ought, it seems to me, to carry such conviction as the present plight of the state itself and this prolongation of the days of ruin—days when those are happiest who have reared no children, while those who have lost them in these times are less to be pitied than if they had done so when there was a sound, or indeed any, Republic.

But if what vexes you is your own private sense of 4
loss, and your mourning is merely caused by the contemplation of what affects yourself, I doubt if your mind can easily be purged of so personal a sorrow altogether; whereas if your anguish is due (as is more consistent with your affectionate nature) to your bewailing the miserable fate of those who have fallen, well, in that case—not to mention what I have so frequently read and heard, that there is no evil in death, and if there be any sensation left after death, it should be rather regarded as deathlessness than death, while, if all sensation be lost, what is not felt cannot properly be deemed misery at all—this I can yet confidently affirm, that such is the chaos, the plotting, and the danger overhanging the state, that the man who has left it all behind him cannot possibly, in my opinion, have misjudged the situation.[a] For what room is there now, I do not say for a sense of honour, for rectitude, for virtue, for honourable pursuits and liberal accomplishments, but even for any independence and security at all? I solemnly declare that I have not heard of the death of a single young man or boy in the course of this year of gloom and pestilence, but that he seemed to me to have been rescued by the immortal gods from all these miseries and most merciless conditions of life.

It follows then if you can rid yourself of this one 5

hoc detrahi potest, ne quid iis, quos amasti, mali putes contigisse, permultum erit ex maerore tuo diminutum. Relinquetur enim simplex illa iam cura doloris tui, quae non cum illis communicabitur, sed ad te ipsum proprie referetur; in qua non est iam gravitatis ac sapientiae tuae, quam tu a puero praestitisti, ferre immoderatius casum incommodorum tuorum, qui sit ab eorum, quos dilexeris, miseria maloque seiunctus. Etenim eum semper te et privatis in rebus, et publicis praestitisti, tuenda tibi ut sit gravitas, et constantiae serviendum. Nam, quod allatura est ipsa diuturnitas, quae maximos luctus vetustate tollit, id nos praecipere consilio pru-
6 dentiaque debemus. Etenim si nulla umquam fuit, liberis amissis, tam imbecillo mulier animo, quae non aliquando lugendi modum fecerit; certe nos, quod est dies allatura, id consilio anteferre debemus neque exspectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus. His ego litteris si quid profecissem, existimabam, optandum quiddam me esse assecutum; sin minus forte valuissent, officio tamen esse functum[1] viri benevolentissimi atque amicissimi; quem me tibi et fuisse semper existimes velim, et futurum esse confidas.

[1] *Orelli*: functurum *codd.*





idea that any evil, as you suppose, can have befallen those you loved, it means a very material abatement of your grief. For then there will only be left you that exclusive feeling of personal sorrow, in which they can have no share, but which begins and ends with yourself alone. But surely, in regard to that, it no longer becomes the moral dignity and wisdom you have exhibited from your boyhood, to be inordinately impatient of the troubles that have befallen yourself, when they have no connexion whatever with any misery or evil that may have befallen those to whom you were so devoted. The fact is that you have ever proved yourself, both in private and in public life, to be such that you are bound to maintain your high character, and obey the dictates of consistency. For whatever alleviation the lapse of time of itself is bound to bring us, obliterating in its course the most deep-seated of sorrows, that, I say, it is our duty by wisdom and foresight to forestall.

And again, if there never was a woman, when 6
bereft of her children, so feeble in character as not, sooner or later, to make an end of her mourning, surely we men ought to anticipate by our wisdom what the passage of days is sure to bring us, and not to wait for time to apply the remedy which reason enables us to apply at this very moment.

If this letter of mine has done you any good, I feel that I have achieved something that I had at heart; but if by any chance it has not the desired effect, I still feel that I have played the part of a very sincere well-wisher and friend; and that is what I should like you to believe I have always been to you, and to rest assured that I shall continue to be.

# XVII

M. C. S. D. P. SITTIO P. F.

A.U.C. 702.

1 Non oblivione amicitiae nostrae neque intermissione consuetudinis meae superioribus temporibus ad te nullas litteras misi, sed quod priora tempora in ruinis reipublicae nostrisque iacuerunt, posteriora autem me a scribendo tuis iniustissimis atque acerbissimis incommodis retardarunt. Cum vero et intervallum iam satis longum fuisset, et tuam virtutem animique magnitudinem diligentius essem mecum recordatus, non putavi esse alienum institutis meis
2 haec ad te scribere. Ego te, P. Sitti, et primis temporibus illis, quibus in invidiam absens et in crimen vocabare, defendi; et, cum in tui familiarissimi iudicio ac periculo tuum crimen coniungeretur, ut potui accuratissime, te tuamque causam tutatus sum; et proxime, recenti adventu meo, cum rem aliter institutam offendissem ac mihi placuisset, si adfuissem, tamen nulla re saluti tuae defui: cumque eo

[a] P. Sittius of Nuceria, a Roman knight, being heavily in debt, favoured for a time the designs of Catiline, but suddenly, through the agency of P. Sulla, sold his landed property, paid his debts, and went to Spain, but not, as was suspected, with a view to helping Catiline. From Spain he went to Mauretania, and returning to Rome after the suppression of the conspiracy, he was threatened with a prosecution for being implicated in it. He returned to Mauretania, where he "played the part of king-maker for eighteen years." In the African War of 46 he greatly assisted Caesar, who gave him a kingdom in Numidia, where after Caesar's death, he was treacherously slain by Arabio, Masinissa's son. See Reid's Introduction to his *Pro Sulla.*





# XVII

CICERO TO P. SITTIUS,[a] SON OF PUBLIUS

52 B.C. (?).

It is not because I have forgotten our friendship or wilfully broken off my customary correspondence with you that I have sent you no letter for some years past. No; it is because the earlier part of that period was sunk in the common ruin of the state and myself, while during the later part of it I found a difficulty in writing to you on account of your own most unmerited and distressing troubles. Now, however, after a sufficiently long interval and a more searching consideration of your admirable character and high courage, I have thought it no deviation from the course I have set myself to send you these words. 1

Well, my dear P. Sittius, how have I treated you? 2
In those earliest days when you were being ill-naturedly attacked in your absence, and even had a criminal charge brought against you, it was I who defended you; and because, when your most intimate friend[b] was under trial and in danger, a charge against yourself was involved in that against him, I spared no pains in safeguarding you and your cause; and quite recently, just after my return, although I found that proceedings had been begun in a way that would not at all have satisfied me had I been on the spot, still in no single respect did I fail to promote your welfare; and again, when, as

[b] P. Sulla, accused of aiding Catiline, was defended by Cicero and acquitted.

tempore invidia annonae, inimici non solum tui, verum etiam amicorum tuorum, iniquitas totius iudici, multaque alia reipublicae vitia plus quam causa ipsa veritasque valuissent, Publio tuo neque opera neque consilio neque labore neque gratia neque
3 testimonio defui. Quamobrem, omnibus officiis amicitiae diligenter a me sancteque servatis, ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse duxi, te ut hortarer rogaremque, ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses, id est, ut communem incertumque casum, quem neque vitare quisquam nostrum, nec praestare ullo pacto potest, sapienter ferres et dolori fortiter ac fortunae resisteres, cogitaresque, et in nostra civitate et in ceteris, quae rerum potitae sunt, multis fortissimis atque optimis viris, iniustis iudiciis, tales casus incidisse. Illud utinam ne vere scriberem, ea te republica carere, in qua neminem prudentem homi-
4 nem res ulla delectet! De tuo autem filio vereor, ne, si nihil ad te scripserim, debitum eius virtuti videar testimonium non dedisse; sin autem omnia, quae sentio, perscripserim, ne refricem meis litteris desiderium ac dolorem tuum. Sed tamen prudentissime facies, si illius pietatem, virtutem, industriam, ubicumque eris, tuam esse, tecum esse duces; nec enim minus nostra sunt, quae animo complectimur,
5 quam quae oculis intuemur. Quamobrem et illius





matters then stood, the unpopularity roused by the price of corn, the hostility not only of your own, but also of your friends' enemies, the unfairness of the whole trial, and many other defects in the constitution, had proved stronger than the merits of the case and truth itself, I never failed to put my services, advice, efforts, influence, and testimony at the disposal of your son Publius.

And for that reason having scrupulously and 3
religiously satisfied all the claims of friendship, I did not think it right to omit the further duty of exhorting and entreating you to remember, that, though a mortal, you are yet a man; in other words, to bear philosophically our common lot of fickle change and chance, which no single one of us can either avoid or vouch for, to defy sorrow and misfortune with a stout heart; and to reflect that in our state, as in all others that have risen to empire, the like calamities have befallen the bravest and best of men through the injustice of tribunals. Would it were not the truth when I write that the state from which you are cut off is one in which no man of discernment could find any reason for gratification.

Now as to your son, I am afraid that, if I say 4
nothing about him in my letter, it will appear as though I had omitted to testify to his merits as much as he deserves; but if, on the other hand, I write down all I feel, I fear that I shall so cause a recrudescence of your regret and sorrow. But anyhow the most sensible thing you can do is to look upon his filial affection, his sterling character, and his assiduity as your own assets, ready to your hand wherever you happen to be; for what we make our own in imagination is not less ours than what we see with our eyes.

eximia virtus summusque in te amor magnae tibi consolationi debet esse, et nos ceterique, qui te non ex fortuna, sed ex virtute tua pendimus semperque pendemus, et maxime animi tui conscientia, cum tibi nihil merito accidisse reputabis, et illud adiunges, homines sapientes turpitudine, non casu, et delicto suo, non aliorum iniuria commoveri. Ego et memoria nostrae veteris amicitiae, et virtute atque observantia fili tui monitus, nullo loco deero neque ad consolandam neque ad levandam fortunam tuam. Tu si quid ad me forte scripseris, perficiam, ne te frustra scripsisse arbitrere.

## XVIII

### M. CICERO S. D. T. FADIO

A.U.C. 702.

1 Etsi egomet, qui te consolari cupio, consolandus ipse sum, propterea quod nullam rem gravius iamdiu tuli, quam incommodum tuum, tamen te magno opere non hortor solum, sed etiam pro amore nostro rogo atque oro, te colligas virumque praebeas et, qua condicione omnes homines et quibus temporibus

[a] Titus Fadius Gallus was quaestor to Cicero when consul in 63; he was a tribune in 58, and was one of those who tried to bring about Cicero's recall. He was now in exile, though allowed to live in Italy and see his family; and the words *facultatem sis habiturus* etc. in § 2 imply his speedy restoration.





And that is why you ought to find a store of comfort not only in your son's exceptionally high character and profound affection for you, but in me and all those others who estimate you, and always will estimate you not by your fortune but by your character; and most of all in your own conscience, when you reflect that you have not deserved anything that has happened to you, and when you think of this too, that what troubles men of wisdom is the consciousness of guilt, not the accidents of fortune, their own misconduct, not any injury done them by others. For my part, impressed as I am by the memory of our long-standing friendship, the high character of your son, and the respect he has shown me, I shall always be at my post to soothe and lighten your misfortunes; and should you on your part happen to write to me about anything, I shall be very careful to give you no reason to suppose that you have written in vain. 5

## XVIII

### CICERO TO T. FADIUS [a]

52 B.C.

Although I, who am anxious to console you, am myself in need of consolation (for it is long since I have resented anything more bitterly than your misfortune), still in all earnestness I exhort you, and not only that, but entreat and implore you in the name of our mutual affection, to summon all your courage and prove yourself a man, and consider under what conditions all men and in what times we in 1

nati simus, cogites. Plus tibi virtus tua dedit, quam fortuna abstulit, propterea quod adeptus es, quod non multi homines novi, amisisti, quae plurimi homines nobilissimi. Ea denique videtur condicio impendere legum, iudiciorum, temporum, ut optime actum cum eo videatur esse, qui quam levissima poena ab hac re-
2 publica discesserit. Tu vero, qui et fortunas et liberos habeas et nos ceterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos, cumque magnam facultatem sis habiturus nobiscum et cum omnibus tuis vivendi, et cum tuum[1] unum sit iudicium ex tam multis, quod reprehendatur, ut quod una sententia, eaque dubia, potentiae alicuius condonatum existimetur, omnibus his de causis debes istam molestiam quam levissime ferre. Meus animus erit in te liberosque tuos semper, quem tu esse vis et qui esse debet.

## XIX

CICERO RUFO

In Cumano, A.U.C. 705.

1 Etsi mihi numquam dubium fuit, quin tibi essem carissimus, tamen quotidie magis id perspicio, ex-

[1] tum *added by Wesenberg.*

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[a] Pompey.
[b] He had been one of Cicero's quaestors in Cilicia. We shall hear more of him in the next two letters. In this letter Cicero urges Rufus, who was in doubt as to which cause he should join, to do the right thing, and not to desert Pompey.





particular have been brought into the world. Fortune has robbed you of less than your worth has brought you, for you have gained what not many "new men" have gained, and only lost what very many of the highest rank have lost. In fine, the condition of the laws, the law-courts, and politics in general, with which it seems we are threatened, is such that the man who has quitted this Republic of ours with the lightest penalty would appear to have come off best.

You indeed—seeing that you keep your fortune 2
and your children, and have me and the rest closely bound to you by the ties of intimacy and goodwill, and also because you are likely to have every opportunity of living with me and all your friends, and finally because the judgment given against you is the only one out of many to be criticized, as it is thought to have been a concession, though carried by a single vote only, and that a doubtful one, to the undue ascendancy of a particular person[a]—for all these reasons then you ought to bear that trouble of yours with as light a heart as possible. My own attitude of mind towards yourself and your children will ever be what you wish it to be, and what it ought to be.

## XIX

CICERO TO MESCINIUS RUFUS[b]

Cumae, April (end), 49 B.C.

Though I have never doubted your deep attach- 1
ment to me, yet I am more and more convinced of it every day, and I have a vivid recollection of what

statque id, quod mihi ostenderas quibusdam litteris, hoc te studiosiorem in me colendo fore, quam in provincia fuisses (etsi, meo iudicio, nihil ad tuum provinciale officium addi potest) quo liberius iudicium esse posset tuum. Itaque me et superiores litterae tuae admodum delectaverunt, quibus et exspectatum meum adventum abs te amanter videbam, et, cum aliter res cecidisset ac putasses, te meo consilio magno opere esse laetatum; et ex his proximis litteris magnum cepi fructum et iudici et offici tui; iudici, quod intellego te, id quod omnes fortes ac boni viri facere debent, nihil putare utile esse, nisi quod rectum honestumque sit; offici, quod te mecum, quodcumque cepissem consili, polliceris fore; quo neque mihi gratius, neque, ut ego arbitror,
2 tibi honestius esse quidquam potest. Mihi consilium captum iamdiu est; de quo ad te, non quo celandus esses, nihil scripsi antea, sed quia communicatio consili tali tempore quasi quaedam admonitio videtur esse offici, vel potius efflagitatio ad coeundam societatem vel periculi vel laboris. Cum vero ea tua sit voluntas, humanitas, benevolentia erga me, libenter amplector talem animum; sed ita (non enim dimittam pudorem in rogando meum), si feceris





you plainly told me in a certain letter—that you would be more assiduous in showing your respect for me than you had been in the province (although in my opinion your courtesy when in office there left nothing to be desired) in proportion as you could be more free to use your own judgment. And so not only was I extremely pleased with your former letter, which showed me that you had looked forward to my arrival with the eagerness of a friend, and that, though things had not turned out as you had anticipated, you were greatly delighted with the policy I had adopted, but I have also derived no little pleasure from the expression, in this last letter of yours, of your judgment, as well as of your kindness; your judgment, because I understand that, as all good and gallant men ought to do, you deem nothing to be expedient but what is right and honourable; your kindness, because you promise that, whatever policy I shall have adopted, you will be at my side, and nothing can be at once more agreeable to me and in my opinion more honourable to yourself than that.

My plans have been laid long ago, but I have 2
written nothing to you about them before, not that it was necessary to keep you in ignorance of them, but because to share your plans with another at such a crisis seems to be almost tantamount to reminding him of his duty, or rather entreating him urgently to become your partner in something either dangerous or difficult. However, your goodwill, kindheartedness, and friendly feeling for me being what it is, I warmly welcome such an attitude of mind on your part, but only on these terms (you see I am not going to abandon my usual modesty in making requests)—if you do what you declare you

id, quod ostendis, magnam habebo gratiam; si non feceris, ignoscam; et alterum timori, alterum mihi te negare non potuisse arbitrabor. Est enim res profecto maxima. Quid rectum sit, apparet; quid expediat, obscurum est; ita tamen, ut, si nos ii sumus, qui esse debemus, id est, studio digni et litteris nostris, dubitare non possimus, quin ea maxime conducant, quae sunt rectissima. Quare tu, si placebit, statim ad me venies. Sin idem placebit, sed neque eodem nec continuo poteris, omnia tibi ut nota sint, faciam. Quidquid statueris, te mihi amicum, sin id, quod opto, etiam amicissimum iudicabo.

## XX

### CICERO RUFO

Ad Urbem, A.U.C. 705.

1 Quoquo modo potuissem, te convenissem, si eo, quo constitueras, venire voluisses. Quare etsi tui commodi causa commovere me noluisti, tamen ita existimes velim, me antelaturum fuisse, si ad me misisses, voluntatem tuam commodo meo. Ad ea, quae scripsisti, commodius equidem possem de sin-

[a] Cicero had waited outside the city on his return from Cilicia in the hope of getting a triumph.





will, I shall be very grateful; if you do not, I shall forgive you, and conclude that in the latter case you could not refuse to make that concession to your fears, which in the former, you could not refuse to make to me. For the matter is assuredly of the first importance. The right course is obvious; what is expedient is obscure, except indeed that if we are the men we ought to be, in other words, men worthy of our literary aspirations, we cannot doubt but that what is most right is also most profitable.

And for that reason, if you think it well to join me, please come at once. But if you so decide, and wish to join me anywhere, but cannot do so immediately, I shall see to it that you are kept informed of all that goes on. Whatever you make up your mind to do, I shall regard you as my friend, but as the best of friends, if it is to do what I desire.

## XX

### THE SAME TO THE SAME

Near Rome,[a] January (middle), 49 B.C.

However I might have managed it, I should certainly have met you, had you been pleased to come to the place you had appointed; and therefore, though for the sake of convenience to yourself you were disinclined to trouble me I must beg you to believe that I should have attached more weight to your wishes, had you but sent me word of them, than to any convenience of mine. 1

In reply to what you wrote, I should indeed be able to write to you more conveniently on each

gulis ad te rebus scribere, si M. Tullius, scriba meus, adesset; de quo mihi exploratum est, in rationibus dumtaxat referendis (de ceteris rebus affirmare non possum), nihil eum fecisse scientem, quod esset contra aut rem aut existimationem tuam; dein, si rationum referendarum ius vetus et mos antiquus maneret, me relaturum rationes, nisi tecum pro coniunctione nostrae necessitudinis contulissem con-
2 fecissemque, non fuisse. Quod igitur fecissem ad Urbem, si consuetudo pristina maneret, id, quando lege Iulia relinquere rationes in provincia necesse erat, easdemque totidem verbis referre ad aerarium, feci in provincia. Neque ita feci, ut te ad meum arbitrium adducerem, sed tribui tibi tantum, quantum me tribuisse numquam poenitebit. Totum enim scribam meum, quem tibi video nunc esse suspectum, tibi tradidi; tu ei M. Mindium, fratrem tuum, adiunxisti. Rationes confectae me absente sunt tecum, ad quas ego nihil adhibui praeter lectionem. Ita accepi librum a meo servo scriba, ut eumdem acceperim a fratre tuo. Si honos is fuit, maiorem tibi habere non potui; si fides, maiorem tibi habui, quam paene ipsi mihi; si providendum fuit, ne quid aliter ac tibi et

[a] A freedman of Cicero's whose full name was M. Tullius Laurea. Freedmen generally took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their master.

[b] A banker at Elis, who made Rufus his heir.





separate point if M. Tullius,[a] my secretary, were here, though as regards him, I have satisfied myself that in the matter of making up the accounts at all events (as to the other matters I cannot speak so positively) he never wittingly did anything incompatible with either your interests or your good name; and, in the next place, supposing the old law and ancient custom as to handing in the accounts were still in force, I assure you that I should never have thought of handing them in without having first, in view of our intimate official connexion, checked them and made them up with you.

And so what I should have done near Rome, had 2
the traditional procedure been still observed, that I did in the province, since it was necessary according to the Julian law to leave the accounts behind in the province, and to send in an exact duplicate of them to the Treasury; and I did so not so as to induce you to accept my own calculations as conclusive, but I gave you as free a hand as I shall never regret having given you. I put my secretary entirely at your service (though I see that you now suspect him), and it was you who put your cousin, M. Mindius,[b] in touch with him. The accounts were made up in my absence when you were present, and I never interfered with them at all except that I perused them; and my having received an account-book from my slave and secretary was the same thing as my having received it from your cousin. If this was a compliment, I could have paid you no greater; if a mark of confidence, I showed you almost more than I showed myself; had it been my duty to take precautions to prevent any return being made that would prejudice either your honour or your interests,

honestum et utile esset, referretur, non habui, cui potius id negoti darem. Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex iubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicensem et Apameensem, quae nobis maximae videbantur, quoniam ita necesse erat, rationes confectas consolidatas deponeremus. Itaque huic loco primum respondeo, me, quamquam iustis de causis rationes deferre properarim, tamen te exspectaturum fuisse, nisi in provincia relictas rationes pro relatis haberem.
3 Quamobrem . . . De Volusio quod scribis, non est id rationum. Docuerunt enim me periti homines, in his cum omnium peritissimus, tum mihi amicissimus, C. Camillus, ad Volusium transferri nomen a Valerio non potuisse, sed praedes Valerianos teneri. Neque id erat HS $|\overline{\text{xxx}}|$, ut scribis, sed HS $|\overline{\text{xix}}|$. Erat enim nobis curata pecunia Valeri mancipis nomine; ex qua
4 reliquum quod erat, in rationibus retuli. Sed sic me liberalitatis fructu privas et diligentiae et (quod

[a] The lacuna may be filled by some such phrase as "I acted as I did."

[b] The position, to put it shortly, seems to have been this. Volusius had entered into a contract on behalf of the state, which one Valerius, a banker, had taken over. Valerius had to give sureties for his fulfilment of the contract, among whom were Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*, Q. Lepta, and also one of his *legati*. When the money was called in by the state, Valerius was unable to pay more than a portion of it, and wished to transfer the obligation to his principal, Volusius. The lawyers, Camillus in particular, decided that the transference was illegal, and that, Valerius being insolvent, his sureties would have to make good the deficit. Cicero, considering that the state had lost nothing by the transference, and wishing to protect his personal friends among the sureties, in his official accounts as proconsul entered the balance due from Valerius as a "bad debt" or "a remission," in fact "wrote it off."





I had nobody to whom I could have entrusted that business in preference to the man to whom I did entrust it. At all events I only acted in accordance with the law directing that we should deposit the accounts made up and balanced in two states, Laodicea and Apamea, which appeared to me, since this had to be done in the two chief states, to be the most important ones; and so, to take this particular objection first, my reply to it is, that, though I was in a hurry for just and proper reasons to hand in the account to the Treasury, I should still have waited for you, were it not that I looked upon the accounts left behind in the province as accounts already rendered to the Treasury. And that is why . . .[a]

What you write about Volusius[b] has nothing to 3
do with the accounts. I am advised by skilled lawyers, and among them C. Camillus, the most skilled of them all, and, moreover, a very good friend of mine, that the debt could not have been transferred from Valerius to Volusius, but that the sureties of Valerius were liable (by the bye, it was not 3000 sestertia as you say, but 1900) For the money was put in our charge in the name of Valerius as the actual purchaser[c]; and the adverse balance I have duly entered in the accounts.[d]

But by taking the view you do[e] you are robbing 4
me of the fruits of my generosity, of my assiduity, and (though this troubles me least of all) of any

[c] *Manceps* was a recognized term for the purchaser of a state contract.

[d] As a bad debt.

[e] As expressed in Rufus's letter, which Cicero mentions above, but which has not been preserved.

minime tamen laboro) mediocris etiam prudentiae—liberalitatis, quod mavis scribae mei beneficio, quam meo legatum meum, praefectumque [Q. Leptam], maxima calamitate levatos (cum praesertim non deberent esse obligati)—diligentiae, quod existimas de tanto officio meo, tanto etiam periculo, nec scisse me quidquam nec cogitavisse, scribam, quidquid voluisset, cum id mihi ne recitavisset quidem, retulisse; prudentiae, quod[1] rem, a me non insipienter excogitatam, ne cogitatam quidem[2] putas. Nam et Volusi liberandi meum fuit consilium, et, ut multa tam gravis Valerianis praedibus, ipsique T. Mario depelleretur, a me inita ratio est; quam quidem omnes non solum probant, sed etiam laudant: et, si verum scire vis, hoc uni scribae meo intellexi non
5 nimium placere. Sed ego putavi esse viri boni, cum populus suum servaret, consulere fortunis tot vel amicorum vel civium. Nam de Lucceio est ita actum, ut, auctore Cn. Pompeio, ista pecunia in fano poneretur (id ego agnovi meo iussu esse factum) qua pe-

[1] *Lambinus, for* cum *MSS.*
[2] ne cogitatam quidem *is the brilliant insertion of the early editors.*

[a] Two sums of money were thus "lodged in safety" as disputed money, where it lay fallow, paying no interest; the first sum, the subject of dispute between Lucceius and the state, was so lodged by Cicero for Pompey, the second by Rufus for P. Sestius, who was on state duty in Asia, and keeping an eye on the pecuniary interests of the *optimates*. "This latter sum Sestius took for his own expenses, and the former sum he took over in trust for Pompey. Rufus, however, in handing over the money to Sestius, acted under Cicero's orders, as Cicero readily acknowledges; but he did not enter in his accounts the fact that he had given those orders to Rufus, considering it unnecessary to do so as the matter was so well authenticated.





credit for the modicum of intelligence I possess—I say of my generosity, in that you prefer to attribute the deliverance of my legate and my prefect [Q. Lepta] from a very grave disaster (and that, too, although they should not have been made liable at all) to the good services of my secretary rather than to mine—of my assiduity, in that you believe that I had neither any knowledge of my duty, nor had given any thought to it, important as it was, or even to my personal danger, serious as it was; that it was my secretary who inserted whatever he pleased in the accounts without having so much as read it over to me—of my intelligence, in that you imagine I had never even thought about a matter which I had actually thought out with no little penetration; for not only was it my own idea to set Volusius free, but it was also I who invented the scheme for saving Valerius's sureties and T. Marius himself from being so heavily mulcted—a scheme not only universally approved, but universally applauded; indeed, if you want to know the truth, my secretary was the only man, so far as I gathered, who was not particularly pleased about it.

But I thought it a point of honour, as long as the 5
people kept what belonged to it, to look after the interests of so many—well, you may call them either friends or fellow-citizens.

Now as to Lucceius, it was arranged at the instance of Pompey, that that money should be lodged in a temple;[a] that, as I have acknowledged, was done by

This passage, especially § 9, is very interesting as showing that Pompey and the other *optimates* had already been making preparations in the East for the conflict with Caesar." Tyrrell.

cunia Pompeius est usus, ut ea, quam tu deposueras, Sestius. Sed haec ad te nihil intellego pertinere. Illud me non animadvertisse moleste ferrem, ut ascriberem, te in fano pecuniam iussu meo deposuisse, nisi ista pecunia gravissimis esset certissimisque monumentis testata, cui data, quo senatusconsulto, quibus tuis, quibus meis litteris P. Sestio tradita esset. Quae quum viderem tot vestigiis impressa, ut in his errari non posset, non ascripsi id, quod tua nihil referebat. Ego tamen ascripsisse mallem,
6 quoniam id te video desiderare. Sicut scribis tibi id esse referendum, idem ipse sentio, neque in eo quidquam a meis rationibus discrepabunt tuae. Addes enim tu, meo iussu; quod ego quidem non addidi; nec causa est, cur negem; nec, si esset, et tu nolles, negarem. Nam de HS nongentis millibus, certe ita relatum est, ut tu sive frater tuus referri voluit. Sed si quid est (quando de Lucceio parum gratum[1] visum est), quod ego in rationibus referendis etiam nunc corrigere possim, de eo mihi, quoniam senatusconsulto non sum usus, quid per leges liceat, considerandum est. Te certe in pecunia exacta ista[2] referre

[1] *Tyrrell and Purser say "it seems impossible to restore this clause with any certainty"; and amid a multitude of conjectures Nobbe's reading seems as good as any.*
[2] *Wesenberg*: ita *M.*

[a] "Ear-marked with such a number of clues" Tyrrell.
[b] Allowing him an extension of time for making up his accounts. Being in a hurry to leave the province, he appears to have sent in his accounts before the necessary time.





my orders; and that money Pompey has used, as Sestius used that which you had deposited. But that, I take it, does not affect you at all. I should, indeed, have been angry with myself for never having thought of adding an entry, to the effect that it was by my orders that you had deposited the money in the Temple, had it not been certified by the most solemn and incontrovertible records to whom that money was assigned, by what decree of the Senate, and by what written instructions on your part or on mine it was handed over to P. Sestius. For when I saw that the whole transaction had been so distinctly and minutely recorded[a] as to admit of no misunderstanding, I did not add an entry in which you were not concerned. And yet I should prefer to have added it, now that I see you regret its omission.

It is just as you write, "that you were bound to 6
make that entry"; I am of the same opinion myself; and in that there will be no discrepancy between your accounts and mine. You will, I am sure, add the words "by my orders"—words which I certainly did not add myself; and there is no reason why I should deny the omission, nor should I do so, even if there were a reason, and you objected to my denial.

Again, as to the nine hundred sestertia, the entry was made exactly as you, or else your cousin, wished it to be made. But (since it seemed you were not altogether pleased in the case of Lucceius), if there is any correction I can make even at this late hour in handing in the accounts—well, as regards that, I have to consider, seeing that I did not avail myself of the decree of the Senate,[b] what latitude is allowed me by the laws. At any rate, in the matter of the money collected, it was no business of yours

ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit, nisi quid me fallit; sunt enim alii peritiores. Illud cave dubites, quin ego omnia faciam quae interesse tua aut etiam
7 velle te existimem, si ullo modo facere possim. Quod scribis de beneficiis, scito a me et tribunos militares et praefectos et contubernales, dumtaxat meos, delatos esse. In quo quidem ratio me fefellit. Liberum enim mihi tempus ad eos deferendos existimabam dari. Postea certior sum factus, triginta diebus deferri necesse esse, quibus rationes retulissem. Sane moleste tuli, non illa beneficia tuae potius ambitioni reservata esse, quam meae, qui ambitione nihil uterer. De centurionibus tamen et de tribunorum militarium contubernalibus res est in integro. Genus enim horum beneficiorum definitum
8 lege non erat. Reliquum est de HS centum millibus, de quibus memini mihi a te Myrina litteras esse allatas, non mei errati, sed tui; in quo peccatum videbatur esse, si modo erat, fratris tui et Tulli. Sed cum id corrigi non posset, quod, iam depositis rationibus, ex provincia decesseramus, credo me quidem tibi pro animi mei voluntate proque ea spe facultatum, quam tum habebamus, quam humanissime potuerim, rescripsisse. Sed neque tum me humanitate litterarum mearum obligatum puto, neque tuam

[a] The governor of a province on his return to Rome gave the Treasury a list of those on his staff or personal suite to whom he had granted rewards for special service (*beneficia*), which would appear in the accounts.

[b] A sum for which Rufus, through some error in the accounts, was indebted to the Treasury—about £800 in our money.

[c] A seaport town in Aeolia.





to make your own entries tally with the accounts I had already handed in—unless I am mistaken; for there are others who know more about it than I do. But mind that you never doubt my doing everything I possibly can do that I consider to be to your interest, or even in accordance with your wishes.

As to what you write about the special service 7
rewards,[a] let me tell you that I have sent in the names of my military tribunes, and prefects, and staff—of my own staff at least. And there, indeed, I made a miscalculation; I was under the impression that the time allowed for sending in the names was unlimited; I was afterwards informed that it was necessary to send them in within thirty days of sending in my accounts. I was genuinely grieved that those rewards were not left for you to recommend in furtherance of your political aspirations, rather than for me, who had no such aspirations. Anyhow, as regards the centurions and staffs of the military tribunes no action has yet been taken; for that class of special service rewards had no time or limit attached to it by law.

There remains the matter of the hundred 8
sestertia,[b] about which I remember having had a letter brought me from you when you were at Myrina,[c] admitting the error to be not mine but yours; though your cousin and Tullius appeared to be responsible for the mistake, if there was one. But since it could not be rectified, because I had already deposited my accounts and quitted the province, I believe that, in accordance with my friendly inclinations and my financial prospects at the time, I replied to you in terms of the warmest sympathy. But I neither think that the sympathy I then expressed in my letter amounted to a pecuniary obligation, nor

hodie epistulam de HS centum sic accepisse, ut ii accipiunt, quibus epistolae per haec tempora molestae
9 sunt. Simul illud cogitare debes, me omnem pecuniam, quae ad me salvis legibus pervenisset, Ephesi apud publicanos deposuisse; id fuisse HS XXII millia; eam omnem pecuniam Pompeium abstulisse; quod ego sive aequo animo, sive iniquo fero, tu de HS centum aequo animo ferre debes, et existimare, eo minus ad te vel de tuis cibariis vel de mea liberalitate pervenisse. Quod si mihi expensa ista HS centum tulisses, tamen, quae tua est suavitas, quique in me amor, nolles a me hoc tempore aestimationem accipere. Nam numeratum si cuperem, non erat. Sed hoc iocatum me putato, ut ego te existimo. Ego tamen, quum Tullius rure redierit, mittam eum ad te, si quid ad rem putabis pertinere.—Hanc epistulam cur conscindi[1] velim, causa nulla est.

## XXI

M. T. C. S. D. L. MESCINIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Gratae mihi tuae litterae fuerunt, ex quibus intellexi, quod etiam sine litteris arbitrabar, te

[1] *Hirschfeld*: non scindi *codd.*

[a] About £17,600, being the profits, no doubt, of Cicero's government of Cilicia. Pompey appropriated the whole of this sum (which is the first sum mentioned in note *a*, p. 412), for the purposes of the war.

[b] "*Aestimationem accipere* was a formula which came into prominence later, when Caesar promulgated his laws about bankruptcy. Creditors had to take, in liquidation of their claims, the debtor's estate at the value it would have fetched before the "bad times" began. . . . It would be like distraining upon a man's property with us." Tyrrell.

[c] I agree with Tyrrell in reading *conscindi* (O. Hirschfeld) as being more in consonance with the tone of the whole letter than *non scindi*. Cicero means that he has nothing to fear from its publication.





do I now regard the letter I received from you to-day about the hundred sestertia as quite the same as the dunning letters received by others in these hard times.

At the same time you ought to bear this in mind, 9
that all that money, which came to me in a perfectly legal way, I deposited in the hands of the *publicani* at Ephesus; that it amounted to 2200 sestertia,[a] and that the whole sum was carried off by Pompey. Now whether I resign myself to that loss, or whether I resent it, *you* should certainly resign yourself to the loss of the hundred sestertia and estimate that just so much less has come to you, whether from your maintenance allowance or from my liberality; but even if you had put me down as your debtor for that hundred sestertia, still you are such a charming fellow and so devoted to me, that you would hesitate to proceed against me by way of estate-valuation[b] at such a time as this; for anxious as I might be to have the money paid you in cash, I haven't got it. But put that down as a jest on my part, and I am sure you were jesting too. Anyhow, when Tullius returns from the country, I shall send him to you, if you think it has any bearing on the matter. There is no reason why I should wish this letter to be torn up.[c]

## XXI

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME

Rome, April, 46 B.C.

Your letter gave me pleasure, as I understood from 1
it what I thought even without a letter, that you

summa cupiditate affectum esse videndi mei; quod ego ita libenter accipio, ut tamen tibi non concedam. Nam tecum esse, ita mihi omnia, quae opto, contingant, ut vehementer velim. Etenim, cum esset maior et virorum et civium bonorum et iucundorum hominum et amantium mei copia, tamen erat nemo, quicum essem libentius, quam tecum, et pauci, quibuscum essem aeque libenter; hoc vero tempore, cum alii interierint, alii absint, alii mutati voluntate sint, unum, medius fidius, tecum diem libentius posuerim, quam hoc omne tempus cum plerisque eorum, quibuscum vivo necessario. Noli enim existimare, mihi solitudinem non iucundiorem esse, qua tamen ipsa uti non licet, quam sermones eorum, qui frequentant domum meam, excepto uno aut sum-
2 mum altero. Itaque utor eodem perfugio, quo tibi utendum censeo, litterulis nostris, praeterea conscientia etiam consiliorum meorum. Ego enim is sum, quemadmodum tu facillime potes existimare, qui nihil umquam mea potius quam meorum civium causa fecerim; cui nisi invidisset is, quem tu numquam amasti (me enim amabas), et ipse beatus esset et omnes boni. Ego sum, qui nullius vim plus valere volui, quam honestum otium; idemque, cum illa ipsa arma, quae semper timueram, plus posse sensi, quam illum consensum bonorum, quem ego idem effeceram, quavis tuta condicione pacem accipere

[a] Lit. "in investing."
[b] He must mean Pompey.





were very eagerly desirous of seeing me; and while I gladly accept the compliment, I do not yield place to you in that desire. For may all my prayers be answered as surely as it is true that I should like very much to be with you. As a matter of fact, when I had a greater choice of good men and citizens and true friends of mine, there was nobody even then whose company I preferred to yours, and few whose company I so greatly enjoyed; but in these days, when some of them have perished, others are away, and others are estranged, I pledge you my word that I should have greater pleasure in spending[a] a single day with you, than the whole of this time with the majority of those in whose company I am obliged to live. Do not for a moment suppose that even solitude (and yet I am not allowed to enjoy even that) has not a greater charm for me than the conversation of those who frequent my house, with one, or at the most two, exceptions.

And so I find a refuge—and I would have you 2
find the same—in my attempts at literature, and also the consciousness of what I have sought to accomplish. For such is my nature, as you at any rate can very easily believe, that I have never done anything for myself rather than for my fellow-citizens; and had not that man,[b] whose friend you never were, because you were mine, been jealous of me, he would himself have prospered, and so would all good citizens. I am he who desired that no autocrat's violence should prevail over peace with honour; it was I, too, when I felt convinced that those very arms I had always dreaded were mightier than that union of good citizens which I again had brought about, it was I who preferred to accept

malui, quam viribus cum valentiore pugnare. Sed et haec et multa alia coram brevi tempore licebit.

3 Neque me tamen ulla res alia Romae tenet, nisi exspectatio rerum Africanarum. Videtur enim mihi res in propinquum adducta discrimen. Puto autem mea nonnihil interesse (quamquam, id ipsum quid intersit, non sane intellego) verumtamen, quidquid illinc nuntiatum sit, non longe abesse a consiliis amicorum. Est enim res iam in eum locum adducta, ut, quamquam multum intersit inter eorum causas, qui dimicant, tamen inter victorias non multum interfuturum putem. Sed plane animus meus[1] qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis confirmatus est multum; quem etiam tuae superiores litterae confirmarunt, quibus intellexi, quam fortiter iniuriam ferres; iuvitque me, tibi cum summam humanitatem, tum etiam tuas litteras profuisse. Verum enim scribam—teneriore mihi animo videbare, sicut omnes fere, qui vitam ingenuam[2] in beata

4 civitate et libera viximus. Sed, ut illa secunda moderate tulimus, sic hanc non solum adversam, sed funditus eversam fortunam fortiter ferre debemus; ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut

[1] *Rightly added by Wesenberg.*
[2] *Orelli and Wesenberg*: vita ingenua *codd.*

[a] This was about the time of the battle of Thapsus, and the subsequent suicide of M. Cato.
[b] Rufus, though in Italy, had probably been forbidden to enter Rome.





peace on any terms that would ensure our security, rather than struggle with a stronger foe. But all this and much else we may shortly have the chance of discussing in each other's company.

And after all there is nothing that keeps me at 3
Rome, but the expectation of news from Africa.[a] For it seems to me that matters there have matured till a decision is imminent. I think, however, it is of some importance to me (though I am not quite clear as to where precisely the importance lies), in any case, whatever the news from Africa may be, not to be far away from friends to advise me. For the position we have now reached is just this, that although there is a great difference in the claims of the combatants, yet I do not think there will be much difference in the results, whichever side is victorious.

But undoubtedly my courage, weakened as it was perhaps by the uncertainty of the issue, has been wonderfully fortified by the loss of all hope; and it was fortified too by your earlier letter, from which I learnt how bravely you are bearing the injustice done to you;[b] and it cheered me to know that the very refinement of your character, as well as your erudition, was of benefit to you. For, to tell you the truth, I used to think that your feelings were unduly sensitive, as is the case with almost all of us who have lived a gentleman's life in a free and prosperous state.

But as we bore without undue elation those days 4
of our prosperity, so it is our duty to bear with courage what is not only the untowardness but the total subversion of our fortunes at the present time; so that amid our crushing disasters we may at least gain this much good, that while even in our prosperity

mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debebamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. Tu, si me diligis, fruere isto otio tibique persuade, praeter peccatum ac culpam, qua semper caruisti et carebis, homini accidere nihil posse, quod sit horribile aut pertimescendum. Ego, si videbitur recte fieri posse, ad te veniam brevi; si quid acciderit, ut mutandum consilium sit, te certiorem faciam statim. Tu ita fac cupidus mei videndi sis, ut istinc te ne moveas tam infirma valetudine, nisi ex me prius quaesieris per litteras, quid te velim facere. Me velim, ut facis, diligas valetudinique tuae at tranquillitati animi servias.





we ought to have thought lightly of death, on the grounds that it was not likely to retain any sensation, afflicted as we now are, we ought not merely to think lightly of it, but even to pray for it.

On your part, as you love me, make the best of that leisure of yours, and convince yourself that, apart from wrong and blameworthy conduct, of which you have always been and will be innocent, nothing can befall a man which is horrible or greatly to be feared; on my part, if I think it possible and proper, I shall come and see you soon; if anything happens to make a change of plan necessary, I shall inform you at once. Don't let your desire to see me stir you in your poor state of health from where you are, until you have inquired of me by letter what I wish you to do. I should be glad if you would maintain your regard for me, as indeed you do, and carefully study your health and peace of mind.

# M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

## LIBER SEXTUS

### I

M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Etsi ea perturbatio est omnium rerum, ut suae quemque fortunae maxime poeniteat nemoque sit, quin ubivis, quam ubi est, esse malit, tamen mihi dubium non est, quin hoc tempore bono viro Romae esse miserrimum sit. Nam etsi, quocumque in loco quisquis est, idem est ei sensus et eadem acerbitas ex interitu rerum et publicarum et suarum, tamen oculi augent dolorem, qui ea, quae ceteri audiunt, intueri coguntur nec avertere a miseriis cogitationem sinunt. Quare etsi multarum rerum desiderio te angi necesse est, tamen illo dolore, quo maxime te confici audio, quod Romae non sis, animum tuum libera. Etsi enim cum magna molestia tuos tuaque desideras, tamen

[a] Aulus Manlius Torquatus presided at the trial of Milo, probably as praetor, in 52 B.C. He had been a follower of Pompey, and was now in exile at Athens, though in 45 he seems to have been allowed to return to Italy, but not to Rome. Cicero refers to him in his *De finibus* as "vir optimus nostrique amantissimus," "the best of men and warmly attached to myself." The following letters to him are almost wholly of a philosophical character.



# CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

## BOOK VI

### I

CICERO TO A. TORQUATUS [a]

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

ALTHOUGH the universal confusion of affairs is such 1 that every man complains of his own lot as being worse than any other, and there is not a man who would not rather be anywhere else in the world than where he is, still I have no doubt that the worst form of misery at the present time for an honest citizen is to be at Rome. For although, wherever a man is, he has the same feeling of exasperation at the ruin both of the public and of his private interests, still his eyes intensify his grief, being compelled to see what others only hear, and forbidding any distraction of his thoughts from his woes. Accordingly, though you cannot but be distressed by the thought of all you have lost, you must at any rate rid your mind of that special sorrow which I am told afflicts you most—the fact of your not being at Rome. For great as is your annoyance at being cut off from your family

illa quidem, quae requiris, suum statum tenent, nec melius, si tu adesses, tenerent, nec sunt ullo in proprio periculo. Nec debes tu, cum de tuis cogitas, aut praecipuam aliquam fortunam postulare aut com-
2 munem recusare. De te autem ipso, Torquate, est tuum, sic agitare animo, ut non adhibeas in consilium cogitationum tuarum desperationem aut timorem. Nec enim is, qui in te adhuc iniustior, quam tua dignitas postulabat, fuit, non magna signa dedit animi erga te mitigati. Nec tamen is ipse, a quo salus petitur, habet explicatam aut exploratam rationem salutis suae. Cumque omnium bellorum exitus incerti sint, ab altera victoria tibi periculum nullum esse perspicio, quod quidem seiunctum sit ab omnium interitu; ab altera te ipsum numquam timuisse certo scio.
3 Reliquum est, ut te id ipsum, quod ego quasi consolationis loco pono, maxime excruciet, commune periculum reipublicae; cuius tanti mali, quamvis docti viri multa dicant, tamen vereor, ne consolatio nulla possit vera reperiri, praeter illam, quae tanta est, quantum in cuiusque animo roboris est atque nervorum. Si enim bene sentire recteque facere satis est ad bene beateque vivendum, vereor, ne eum, qui se

[a] Both here and in the next sentence "the man" is Caesar.
[b] *i.e.*, on the side of the Pompeians, who had been victorious in Spain.





and possessions, the objects of your regret are as well off as ever they were—could not indeed be better off if you were with them—and are in no special danger. And it is not right, when you are thinking of your family, that you should either claim any peculiar favour of fortune, or refuse to submit to the common lot.

When, however, you are thinking of yourself, my 2
dear Torquatus, it is incumbent upon you so to order your reflections as not to summon to the conclave of your thoughts either despair or fear. For neither has the man[a] who has hitherto been less just to you than your deserts demanded, failed to give distinct indications of being more mildly disposed towards you; nor, after all, has the very man to whom you appeal for safety any clear and assured method of securing his own. And, though the issues of all wars are uncertain, I clearly see that, while victory on the one side is no source of danger to you, apart, of course, from what is involved in the general ruin, victory on the other[b] is what you yourself, as I am well aware, have never been afraid of.

I am left to suppose then that what causes you 3
the bitterest anguish is precisely what I regard in the light of a consolation—the common danger of the whole state; and for that overwhelming evil, however glibly philosophers may talk, I fear no real consolation can possibly be discovered except that of which the efficacy is in exact proportion to each man's moral strength and nerve. For if to have a sound judgement, and to act aright, is all that is requisite for a good and happy life, to speak of a man, who can hold his head up because he is con-

optimorum consiliorum conscientia sustentare possit, miserum esse nefas sit dicere. Nec enim nos arbitror victoriae praemiis ductos patriam olim et liberos et fortunas reliquisse; sed quoddam nobis officium iustum et pium et debitum reipublicae nostraeque dignitati videbamur sequi; nec, cum id faciebamus, tam eramus amentes, ut explorata nobis esset victoria.
4 Quare si id evenit, quod ingredientibus nobis in causam propositum fuit accidere posse, non debemus ita cadere animis, quasi aliquid evenerit, quod fieri posse numquam putarimus. Simus igitur ea mente, quam ratio et veritas praescribit, ut nihil in vita nobis praestandum praeter culpam putemus; eaque cum careamus, omnia humana placate et moderate feramus. Atque haec eo pertinet oratio, ut, perditis rebus omnibus, tamen ipsa virtus se sustentare posse videatur. Sed, si est spes aliqua rebus communibus, ea tu, quicumque status est futurus, carere
5 non debes. Atque haec mihi scribenti veniebat in mentem, me eum esse, cuius tu desperationem accusare solitus esses, quemque auctoritate tua cunctantem et diffidentem excitare. Quo quidem tempore non ego causam nostram, sed consilium improbabam. Sero enim nos iis armis adversari videbam, quae

[a] *i.e.*, when we definitely joined Pompey in the campaign that ended with the battle of Pharsalia in 48 B.C.—the campaign mentioned below in § 5.





scious of the purity of his aims, as being miserable is, I apprehend, impiety. For I do not suppose that it was the rewards of victory that tempted us formerly [a] to leave behind us our country, our children, and all we possessed; no, I think we were following the path of a definite duty, a duty of justice and loyalty which we owed to the commonwealth and to our own dignity; nor again at the time we did so were we so fatuous as to imagine that we had victory in our hands.

If therefore that has occurred, the possible happen- 4
ing of which we put plainly before our eyes when we first took up the cause, we ought not to let our spirits sink as though something had occurred, the very possibility of which we never contemplated. Let us then be so minded as we are bidden to be by reason and truth, and that is to remember that we are not to be held responsible for anything in life other than wrong conduct; and since we are not guilty of that, to bear all the ills of humanity with calmness and self-restraint. And the conclusion to which these remarks point is this—that, though all be lost, virtue none the less seems able by herself to maintain her own ground. But if public affairs admit of any hope, then, whatever the situation turns out to be, you can claim a share in that hope.

And yet, as I write these words, it keeps occurring 5
to me that I am the very man you have so often rebuked for his pessimism, and so often tried to rouse by your personal influence from his hesitancy and diffidence. But in those days, I assure you, it was not the soundness of our cause, but our policy that I impugned. I saw that we were too late in opposing arms that had long before been strength-

multo ante confirmata per nosmetipsos erant; dolebamque, pilis et gladiis, non consiliis, neque auctoritatibus nostris de iure publico disceptari. Neque ego ea, quae facta sunt, fore cum dicebam, divinabam futura, sed, quod et fieri posse, et exitiosum fore, si evenisset, videbam, id ne accideret, timebam; praesertim cum, si mihi alterum utrum de eventu atque exitu rerum promittendum esset, id futurum, quod evenit, exploratius possem promittere. Iis enim rebus praestabamus, quae non prodeunt in aciem; usu autem armorum et militum robore inferiores eramus. Sed tu illum animum nunc adhibe, quaeso,
6 quo me tum esse oportere censebas. Haec eo scripsi, quod mihi Philargyrus tuus, omnia de te requirenti, fidelissimo animo (ut mihi quidem visus est) narravit, te interdum sollicitum solere esse vehementius; quod facere non debes, nec dubitare quin aut aliqua republica sis futurus, qui esse debes, aut perdita, non afflictiore condicione, quam ceteri. Hoc vero tempus, quo exanimati omnes et suspensi sumus, hoc moderatiore animo ferre debes, quod et in urbe ea es, ubi nata et alta est ratio ac moderatio vitae, et habes Ser. Sulpicium, quem semper unice dilexisti;

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *Flacc.* 62 "Athenienses, unde humanitas, doctrina, religio . . . ortae putantur."





ened by our own actions; and I grieved that a question of public right should be settled, not by conference or our moral authority, but by the pike and by the sword. And when I stated that what did occur would happen, I was not venturing to foretell the future; no, it was simply that I was afraid of that happening which I saw was a possibility, and would be the ruin of us if it did come to pass; especially when, had I been obliged to make a forecast, one way or the other, as to the development and issue of the campaign, the forecast I could have made with the greater certainty was, that just that would happen which did come to pass. For while we excelled in those qualities which do not display themselves in battle, we were inferior in the practice of arms and the physical fitness of our men. But do you, I beg of you, show that courage now which you thought I ought to have shown then.

My reason for writing thus is, that when I made 6
searching inquiries about you, your freedman Philargyrus, out of the loyalty of his heart (that was certainly my impression), informed me that you are subject to occasional fits of profound anxiety; you ought not to be so, nor should you doubt that if any form of constitution survives you will occupy the position due to you, or that, if none survives, you will be in no more wretched plight than the rest of us. The present crisis, however, which holds us all breathless with suspense, you should face with all the more self-control for two reasons—you are resident in that city where the principles on which life should be governed had their birth and nurture,[a] and you have with you one to whom you have ever been singularly attached—Servius Sulpicius, whose

qui te profecto et benevolentia et sapientia consolatur; cuius si essemus et auctoritatem et consilium secuti, togati potius potentiam quam armati victoriam
7 subissemus. Sed haec longiora fortasse fuerunt quam necesse fuit; illa, quae maiora sunt, brevius exponam. Ego habeo, cui plus, quam tibi, debeam, neminem. Quibus tantum debebam, quantum tu intelligis, eos huius mihi belli casus eripuit. Qui sim autem hoc tempore, intellego. Sed quia nemo est tam afflictus quin, si nihil aliud studeat, nisi id quod agit, possit navare aliquid et efficere, omne meum consilium, operam, studium certe, velim existimes tibi tuisque liberis esse debitum.

## II

M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Peto a te, ne me putes oblivione tui rarius ad te scribere quam solebam, sed aut gravitate valetudinis, qua tamen iam paullum videor levari, aut quod absim ab Urbe, ut, qui ad te proficiscantur, scire non possim. Quare velim ita statutum habeas, me tui memoriam cum summa benevolentia tenere, tuasque

[a] "In peace we should have surrendered to his civil power rather than in war to the force of his arms." Tyrrell.





kindly feeling and wisdom is, I am sure, a comfort to you; had we but followed his authority and counsel we should have submitted to the autocracy of a civilian rather than to the victory of an armed soldier.[a]

But perhaps I have dealt with these matters at 7
unnecessary length; I shall take less space to set forth what is more important. I have nobody in the world to whom I owe more than I do to you; those to whom I was indebted, you yourself know how heavily, have been snatched away from me by the calamity of this war. What my own position is at the present moment I am fully aware. But since there is never a man so hopelessly prostrate but that he is capable of some considerable accomplishment and performance if he devotes himself wholly and solely to the work he has in hand, I should be glad if you would regard whatever counsel or practical assistance I can give you, certainly all my enthusiasm, as a debt I owe to yourself and your children.

## II

CICERO TO THE SAME

Astura, April, 45 B.C.

I beg of you not to imagine that my writing to 1
you less frequently than I used to do is due to my having forgotten you, but either to my illness (though I think I am now recovering from it a little) or to my being away from Rome, so that it is impossible for me to know who are going out to you. I should like you, therefore, to regard it as an established fact that I remember you with the warmest affection,

omnes res non minori mihi curae quam meas esse.
2 Quod maiore in varietate versata est adhuc tua causa quam homines aut volebant aut opinabantur, mihi crede, non est pro malis temporum quod moleste feras. Necesse est enim aut armis urgeri rempublicam sempiternis, aut his positis recreari aliquando, aut funditus interire. Si arma valebunt, nec eos, a quibus reciperis, vereri debes, nec eos, quos adiuvisti; si, armis aut condicione positis aut defatigatione abiectis aut victoria detractis, civitas respiraverit, et dignitate frui tibi et fortunis licebit; sin omnino interierint omnia fueritque is exitus, quem vir prudentissimus, M. Antonius, iam tum timebat, cum tantum instare malorum suspicabatur, misera est illa quidem consolatio, tali praesertim civi et viro, sed tamen necessaria, nihil esse praecipue cuiquam
3 dolendum in eo quod accidat universis. Quae vis insit in his paucis verbis (plura enim committenda epistulae non erant), si attendes, quod facis, profecto etiam sine meis litteris intelleges, te aliquid habere quod speres, nihil quod aut hoc aut aliquo reipublicae statu timeas; omnia si interierint, cum superstitem

[a] "Caesar did not grant complete pardon to Torquatus all at once. About this time he allowed him to return to Italy, but not to Rome." Tyrrell.

[b] *i.e.*, before the civil war of Marius and Sulla. M. Antonius, the orator, was put to death by Marius and Cinna in 87 B.C.





and that I am no less interested in whatever concerns you than in what concerns myself.

Your case has hitherto suffered greater vicissitudes 2
than people either desired or expected;[a] but as to that, considering how bad the times are, there is no reason, believe me, for you feeling aggrieved. For it is inevitable that the Republic should be eternally harassed by the clash of arms, or some day see those arms laid aside and gain a new existence, or be utterly extinguished. If the sword is to be master, you have nothing to fear, either from those who are accepting your submission, or from those whom you have supported; if the state ever breathes again, when that sword is sheathed by the terms of a settlement, or flung away in sheer weariness, or wrested from one side by the victory of the other, you will then be permitted to enjoy both your position and your prosperity; but if there is to be ruin, absolute and universal, and the final issue is to be what that most sagacious of men, Marcus Antonius, used to fear even in those early days[b] when he apprehended the imminence of all these disasters, well, there is always this consolation—a poor one, it is true, especially for a citizen and man of your type, but one we cannot but accept—that no man should make a special grievance of what happens to all alike.

If you consider, as I am sure you do, the inward 3
significance of these few words—more are not to be entrusted to a despatch—you will doubtless understand without any letter from me that you have something to hope for, and nothing to fear either in this or any other stable form of government; but in the event of universal ruin, since you would not

te esse reipublicae ne si liceat quidem velis, ferendam esse fortunam, praesertim quae absit a culpa. Sed haec hactenus. Tu velim scribas ad me, quid agas, et ubi futurus sis, ut aut quo scribam aut quo veniam, scire possim.

## III

M. TULLIUS CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Superioribus litteris benevolentia magis adductus quam quo res ita postularet, fui longior. Neque enim confirmatione nostra egebat virtus tua, neque erat ea mea causa atque fortuna, ut, cui ipsi omnia
2 deessent, alterum confirmarem. Hoc item tempore brevior esse debeo. Sive enim nihil tum opus fuit tam multis verbis, nihilo magis nunc opus est; sive tum opus fuit, illud satis est, praesertim cum accesserit nihil novi. Nam etsi quotidie aliquid audimus earum rerum, quas ad te perferri existimo, summa tamen eadem est et idem exitus, quem ego tam video animo, quam ea, quae oculis cernimus. Nec vero quidquam video, quod non idem te videre certo sciam. Nam etsi, quem exitum acies habitura sit, divinare nemo potest, tamen et belli exitum video, et, si id minus, hoc quidem certe, cum sit necesse alterum utrum vincere, qualis futura sit vel haec, vel illa

[a] Not *Ep.* ii. in this book, which was written in April, and this in January, 45. He must refer to some other letter.





desire to survive the Republic, even if allowed to do so, that you must accept your lot, especially as it has no connexion with any fault of yours. But enough of this. I should like you to write and tell me what you are doing, and where you are likely to be, so that I may know either where to write, or where to come.

## III

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

In my last letter[a] I was tempted by my friendliness, 1
rather than because the circumstances demanded it, to be somewhat prolix; for neither did your manliness require any encouragement of mine, nor, considering my own utter destitution, was my case and condition such as to warrant my encouraging anyone else.

On this occasion too I must be briefer. For if 2
there was no need of so many words *then*, there is no greater need at all *now*; and if there was *then*, what I have already written is enough, especially as there has been nothing new to add. For though I daily hear something of these affairs, which I believe reach your ears too, it all amounts to the same thing in the end; and that end I see as clearly with my mind as the things we behold with our eyes; and indeed there is nothing I see which I am not quite sure that you see also. For though no man can divine what the issue of a battle will be, I can yet see the issue of the war, or, if not exactly that, I can at any rate see, since one side or the other must necessarily prove victorious, what is likely to be the effect of victory on either side.

3 victoria. Idque cum optime perspexi, tale video, nihil ut mali videatur futurum, si id vel ante acciderit, quod vel maximum ad timorem proponitur. Ita enim vivere, ut tum sit vivendum, miserrimum est; mori autem nemo sapiens miserum duxit ne beato quidem. Sed in ea es urbe, in qua haec, vel plura et
4 ornatiora parietes ipsi loqui posse videantur. Ego tibi hoc confirmo, etsi levis est consolatio ex miseriis aliorum, nihilo te nunc maiore in discrimine esse, quam quemvis aut eorum, qui discesserint [aut eorum, qui remanserint].[1] Alteri dimicant, alteri victorem timent. Sed haec consolatio levis est; illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor; nec enim, dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa, et, si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. Sed rursus γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, qui ad te haec. Mihi tu, tui, tua omnia maxime curae sunt et, dum vivam, erunt.

## IV

M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Novi, quod ad te scriberem, nihil erat; et tamen si quid esset, sciebam te a tuis certiorem fieri solere.

[1] *Though the bracketed words are not found in most MSS., they have been discovered by Tyrrell in one of Allen's MSS., and seem essential to the sense of the passage.*

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[a] *i.e.*, the trouble that must ensue in either case.
[b] *i.e.*, death.
[c] Equivalent to our "sending coals to Newcastle," the owl being sacred to Pallas Athene, the tutelary goddess of Athens.





And, understanding this[a] so fully, I see such a 3
position that it seems that it will be no evil if, even before a decisive victory, that befalls which is held out as being of all things the most to be dreaded.[b] For to live on such terms as we should have to live after that is the depth of misery, but no wise man has ever held that to die is any misery, even for one who is in prosperity. But you are in a city in which the very walls of the houses themselves seem able to say all this, or even more, and after a nobler fashion.

I can assure you of this, though it is but a poor 4
consolation that is based on the miseries of others, that you are in no whit greater danger now than any one either of those who have gone off to the war, or of those who have stayed at home. The former are engaged in battle, the latter fear the conqueror. That, however, is a poor consolation; this other one has greater weight, and I hope you take advantage of it, as I certainly do; for never, while I exist, shall anything cause me pain, as long as I am guiltless of any wrong conduct; and if I cease to exist, I lose all sensation.

But here again in writing thus to you I am but "sending an owl to Athens."[c] You and yours and all you possess are my chief concern, and will be as long as I live.

## IV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

There is no news for me to send you, and even if 1
there were, I know that you generally get the in-

De futuris autem rebus etsi semper difficile est dicere, tamen interdum coniectura possis propius accedere, cum est res eiusmodi, cuius exitus provideri possit. Nunc tantum videmur intelligere, non diuturnum bellum fore; etsi id ipsum nonnullis videatur secus. Equidem cum haec scribebam, aliquid iam actum putabam, non quo certo scirem, sed quod haud difficilis erat coniectura.[1] Nam cum omnis belli Mars communis, et cum semper incerti exitus proeliorum sint, tum hoc tempore ita magnae utrimque copiae, ita paratae ad depugnandum esse dicuntur, ut, utercumque vicerit, non sit mirum futurum. Illa in dies singulos magis magisque opinio hominum confirmatur, etiamsi inter causas armorum aliquantum intersit, tamen inter victorias non multum interfuturum. Alteros propemodum iam sumus experti; de altero nemo est quin cogitet, quam sit metuendus iratus
2 victor armatus. Hoc loco si videor augere dolorem tuum, quem consolando levare debeam, fateor me communium malorum consolationem nullam invenire praeter illam, quae tamen, si possis eam suscipere, maxima est, quaque ego quotidie magis utor,—conscientiam rectae voluntatis maximam consolationem

[1] *These words were found, according to Tyrrell, in the codex of Ursinus, and in one of Allen's codices.*

[a] *Cf.* ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, Hom. *Il.* xviii. 309.
[b] The Pompeian party. [c] Caesar.





formation from your family. As to the future, however, though it is always difficult to dogmatize, still one can get fairly near the truth by conjecture, if the matter is such that its issue can be foreseen. In the present instance I think I realize no more than this, that the war will not be of long duration; though even on this very point there are some who are of a different opinion. For myself, as I write these words I believe something of importance has already occurred, not that I know it for certain, but because it is not hard to form a conjecture. For, though the Lord of War is ever impartial,[a] and the results of battles always uncertain, on this occasion so great are the forces on each side, and so well equipped, it is said, for a decisive engagement, that nobody will be surprised whichever of the two commanders prove the victor. The general opinion, and it grows stronger every day, is this, that although the causes of the combatants differ very materially, there will after all not be much difference in the results of victory on one side or the other. Of the one party[b] we have already, I think I may say, had some experience; as regards the commander[c] of the other, there is not a man but reflects how much to be dreaded is the anger of a conqueror with his sword unsheathed.

At this point, if you think I am aggravating your 2
grief when I ought to be assuaging it, by trying to console you, I confess that I can discover no consolation for our common calamities except this—and this after all, if you can but take it to your heart, is the most convincing, and the one of which I avail myself more and more each day—I mean that the best possible consolation in trouble is the con-

esse rerum incommodarum, nec esse ullum magnum malum praeter culpam. A qua quando tantum absumus, ut etiam optime senserimus, eventusque magis nostri consili, quam consilium reprehendatur, et quando praestitimus quod debuimus, moderate quod evenit feramus. Sed hoc mihi tamen non sumo, ut te consoler de communibus miseriis, quae ad consolandum maioris ingeni et ad ferendum singularis virtutis indigent. Illud cuivis facile est docere, cur praecipue tu dolere nihil debeas. Eius enim, qui tardior in te levando fuit, quam fore putaremus, non est mihi dubia de tua salute sententia. De aliis autem
3 non arbitror te exspectare quid sentiam. Reliquum est, ut te angat, quod absis a tuis tam diu. Res molesta, praesertim ab iis pueris, quibus nihil potest esse festivius. Sed, ut ad te scripsi antea, tempus est eiusmodi, ut suam quisque condicionem miserrimam putet, et, ubi quisque sit, ibi esse minime velit. Equidem nos, qui Romae sumus, miserrimos esse duco, non solum quod in malis omnibus acerbius est videre, quam audire, sed etiam, quod ad omnes casus subitorum periculorum magis obiecti sumus, quam si abessemus; etsi meipsum, consolatorem tuum, non tantum litterae, quibus semper studui,
4 quantum longinquitas temporis, mitigavit. Quanto





sciousness of a right purpose, and that there is no serious evil other than wrong conduct; and since we are so far from it, that our sentiments have ever been of the soundest, and it is the result of our policy rather than the policy itself that is the subject of censure, and since we have fully discharged our obligations, well then, let us bear what has come to pass with self-restraint. But, be that as it may, I do not presume to console you for the troubles common to all of us; they indeed require greater inventiveness in the comforter, and exceptional courage in the sufferer. But why you should have no special sorrow of your own, anybody could explain to you easily enough. For though a certain person has acted with less despatch than I had expected in relieving you, I have no doubt at all as to what that person thinks about your restoration. As to the others, I don't suppose that you are in any hurry to know my opinion.

There remains the fact that it is painful to you to 3
be so long away from your family; it must be a grief to you, especially to be separated from those boys of yours, who are the merriest fellows in the world. But, as I wrote to you before, the times are such that everybody thinks he is worse off than anybody else, and where each man is, there he least wants to be. Myself, I consider that we who are at Rome are the most to be pitied, not only because in the case of anything that is evil, the sight of it is more painful than the hearing of it, but also because we are more exposed to any sudden danger that may arise than if we were away. Though I must say, speaking for myself who profess to comfort you, it is not so much the literature to which I have always devoted myself, as length of time that has brought me relief.

fuerim dolore, meministi. In quo prima illa consolatio est, vidisse me plus, quam ceteros, cum cupiebam, quamvis iniqua condicione, pacem. Quod etsi casu, non divinatione mea factum est, tamen hac inani prudentiae laude delector. Deinde, quod mihi ad consolationem commune tecum est, si iam vocer ad exitum vitae, non ab ea republica avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, praesertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit. Adiuvat etiam aetas et acta iam vita, quae cum cursu suo bene confecto delectatur, tum vetat in eo vim timere, quo nos iam natura ipsa paene perduxerit. Postremo is vir, vel etiam ii viri, hoc bello occiderunt, ut impudentia videatur, eamdem fortunam, si res cogat, recusare. Equidem mihi omnia propono, nec ullum est tantum malum, quod non putem impendere. Sed cum plus in metuendo mali sit, quam in ipso illo quod timetur, desino, praesertim cum impendeat, in quo non modo dolor nullus verum finis etiam doloris futurus sit. Sed haec satis multa, vel plura potius, quam necesse fuit. Facit autem non loquacitas mea, sed benevolentia
5 longiores epistulas. Servium discessisse Athenis

[a] Servius Sulpicius; see Bk. iv. 3 and 4.





You remember the bitterness of my grief, in 4
which my chief consolation is, that I saw further than anybody else, when what I desired, however unfavourable the terms, was peace. And though that is due to mere chance, and no prophetic inspiration of mine, I still find a pleasure in the hollow credit of having been far-seeing.

In the second place, and this is a source of consolation common to both of us, if I were now called upon to quit the stage of life, the Republic from which I should have to tear myself is not one which it would pain me to forgo, especially when the change would deprive me of all perception. My age too makes it easier for me, and the fact that my life is now at its close, and not only is it gladdened by the thought of a course well run, but it forbids my fearing any violence in that change to which nature herself has nearly brought me.

And lastly, the man, I might even say the men, who have fallen in this war were of such a character, that it seems an act of shamelessness not to accept the same doom should circumstances compel it. For my own part, there is no contingency I do not contemplate, and there is no calamity so crushing but that I believe it to be hanging over my head. But since there is more evil in our anticipation of it than in the very thing we dread, I am ceasing to fear, especially as what hangs over me not only involves no pain, but will itself be the end of pain.

But what I have said is enough, or rather more than I need have said; it is not my garrulity, however, but my friendliness that is to blame for the unusual length of my letters.

I was sorry that Servius [a] should have left Athens; 5

moleste tuli; non enim dubito quin magnae tibi levationi solitus sit esse quotidianus congressus et sermo cum familiarissimi hominis, tum optimi et prudentissimi viri. Tu velim tete, ut debes et soles, tua virtute sustentes. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te et ad tuos pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo; quae cum faciam, benevolentiam tuam erga me imitabor, merita non assequar. Vale.

## V

M. CICERO S. D. A. CAECINAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quotiescumque filium tuum video (video autem fere quotidie), polliceor ei studium quidem meum et operam sine ulla exceptione aut laboris aut occupationis aut temporis, gratiam autem atque auctoritatem, cum hac exceptione, quantum valeam quantumque possim. Liber tuus et lectus est, et legitur a me diligenter et custoditur diligentissime. Res et fortunae tuae mihi maximae curae sunt, quae quidem quotidie faciliores mihi et meliores videntur, multisque video magnae esse curae, quorum de studio et de sua
2 spe filium ad te perscripsisse certo scio. Iis autem de

[a] Aulus Caecina, son of the Caecina whom Cicero defended in 69, fought on the side of Pompey. Though Caesar, after the African campaign, granted him his life, he was not allowed to return to Italy, probably because he had libelled Caesar during the war. Caecina afterwards wrote an abject recantation, which he entitled his *Liber Querellarum* (*Book of Remonstrances*), of which Caesar took no notice.





for I have no doubt that you have often found it a great relief daily to meet and converse with one who is a most intimate friend of yours and at the same time a man of excellent character and remarkable discernment; on your part I would have you keep up your spirits, as is your duty, and indeed your habit, with the courage that characterizes you; on my part, I shall attend with zealous assiduity to all that, so far as I can judge, you wish to be done and is of importance to you and yours. And in so doing, while imitating your kindly feeling towards me, in the matter of good services I shall never overtake you.

## V

CICERO TO AULUS CAECINA [a]

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

Whenever I see your son—and I see him practically 1
every day—I promise him my devoted and strenuous support without any qualification whatever on the score of hard work, other engagements, or lack of time; but any favour and influence with this proviso, "to the best of my power and ability." As to your book, I have not only read it, but am still reading it carefully, and I am particularly careful not to leave it lying about; I am most keenly interested in your affairs and fortunes, which seem to me to be getting more comfortable, and improving every day, and I notice that many others are keenly interested in them, of whose devotion, as also of his own hopes, I am quite sure your son has sent you a full account.

As to those matters, however, which can only be 2

rebus, quas coniectura consequi possumus, non mihi sumo, ut plus ipse prospiciam, quam te videre atque intelligere mihi persuaserim; sed tamen, quia fieri potest, ut tu ea perturbatiore animo cogites, puto esse meum, quid sentiam, exponere. Ea natura rerum est, et is temporum cursus, ut non possit ista aut tibi aut ceteris fortuna esse diuturna, neque haerere in tam bona causa et in tam bonis civibus tam acerba iniuria.
3 Quare ad eam spem, quam extra ordinem de te ipso habemus, non solum propter dignitatem et virtutem tuam (haec enim ornamenta sunt tibi etiam cum aliis communia), accedunt tua praecipua propter eximium ingenium summamque [virtutem],[1] cui, mehercules, hic, cuius in potestate sumus, multum tribuit. Itaque ne punctum quidem temporis in ista fortuna fuisses, nisi eo ipso bono tuo, quo delectatur, se violatum putasset. Quod ipsum lenitur quotidie significaturque nobis ab iis, qui simul cum eo vivunt, tibi hanc ipsam opinionem
4 ingeni apud ipsum plurimum profuturam. Quapropter primum fac animo forti atque magno sis; ita enim natus, ita educatus, ita doctus es, ita etiam cognitus, ut tibi id faciendum sit: deinde spem quo-

[1] *It is incredible that Cicero could have thus repeated himself. There are various conjectures.*





the subject of conjecture, I do not presume to claim a deeper insight into the future than what I am convinced is given you by your own vision and discernment; but for all that, since there is a possibility of your being unduly perturbed by the consideration of those matters, I think it my duty to express my own sentiments. The very conditions of life and the trend of the times are such as to make it impossible that the circumstances in which you find yourself should last for any length of time, either in your own case or in that of any others, or that so good a cause and such good citizens should be permanently affected by so intolerable an injustice.

And in this connexion, in addition to the hope 3
with which your own personality inspires me to no ordinary degree, not only on account of your position and probity (for these are distinctions which others can claim as well as yourself), there are also those peculiar to yourself in your outstanding ability and admirable courage, and to this I positively affirm that the man who has us in his power attaches great importance; so that you would not have remained for a single moment in your present position were it not that he had considered himself insulted by that very gift of yours in which he finds a charm. But this feeling of offence is itself being mitigated daily, and I have hints from those who live with him that this very opinion he holds of your ability will weigh very heavily in your favour with the great man himself.

For that reason you must in the first place keep 4
up your spirits and courage; that is a duty laid upon you by your birth, your upbringing, your education, and even your reputation; in the second place you

que habeas firmissimam propter eas causas, quas scripsi. A me vero tibi omnia liberisque tuis paratissima esse confidas velim. Id enim et vetustas nostri amoris, et mea consuetudo in meos, et tua multa erga me officia, postulant.

## VI

M. CICERO S. D. A. CAECINAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Vereor, ne desideres officium meum, quod tibi pro nostra et meritorum multorum et studiorum parium coniunctione deesse non debet; sed tamen vereor, ne litterarum a me officium requiras, quas tibi et iam pridem et saepe misissem, nisi, quotidie melius exspectans, gratulationem quam confirmationem animi tui complecti litteris maluissem. Nunc, ut spero, brevi gratulabimur. Itaque in aliud tempus id argumen-
2 tum epistolae differo. His autem litteris animum tuum, quem minime imbecillum esse et audio et spero, etsi non sapientissimi, at amicissimi hominis auctoritate confirmandum etiam atque etiam puto; nec iis quidem verbis, quibus te consoler ut afflictum et iam omni spe salutis orbatum, sed ut eum, de





must have every confidence in the future too, for the reasons I have noted.

As regards myself, I would have you rest assured that anything I can do for yourself or your children will most readily be done for the asking. That is the least I could do, considering our long-standing friendship, the way I always treat my friends, and your own many kindnesses to me.

## VI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, September (end), 46 B.C.

I am afraid you think me wanting in my duty 1
towards you—and considering the many mutual services and the similarity in our pursuits that bind us together, it ought not to be so—anyhow I *am* afraid you feel that I have not done my duty by you in the matter of correspondence. Well, I should have written to you long ago and many times, had I not been daily expecting better news, and preferred that congratulation rather than encouragement should be the theme of my letter. As it is, I shall soon, I hope, be congratulating you, so I hold that subject over for another letter.

But in the present letter I think that your spirits— 2
though I am told and hope that they have by no means given way—need fortifying again and again by the counsel of one who, if not the wisest of men, is at any rate your best friend, and not in the words I should use to console you as one utterly cast down and now bereft of all hope of restoration, but as one of whose reinstatement in his

cuius incolumitate non plus dubitem, quam te memini dubitare de mea. Nam cum me ex republica expulissent ii, qui illam cadere posse, stante me, non putarunt, memini me ex multis hospitibus, qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire te de
3 glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare. Si te ratio quaedam Etruscae disciplinae, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit, ne nos quidem nostra divinatio fallet, quam cum sapientissimorum virorum monumentis atque praeceptis plurimoque, ut tu scis, doctrinae studio, tum magno etiam usu tractandae reipublicae magnaque nostrorum tem-
4 porum varietate consecuti sumus. Cui quidem divinationi hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obscuris rebus tamque perturbatis umquam omnino fefellit. Dicerem, quae ante futura dixissem, ni vererer, ne ex eventis fingere viderer. Sed tamen plurimi sunt testes, me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne seiungeret. Coniunctione frangi senatus opes, disiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam. Atque utebar familiarissime Caesare, Pompeium faciebam plurimi; sed erat meum consilium cum fidele Pom-
5 peio, tum salutare utrique. Quae praeterea providerim, praetereo. Nolo enim hunc de me optime

[a] It was from the Etruscans that the Romans borrowed most of their arts of divination, and young Roman nobles used to attend the schools of the Lucumones in Etruria.





civil rights I have no more doubt than I remember you had of mine. For when those who imagined that the Republic could not fall while I was on my feet had driven me into exile, I remember being told by several visitors who came to see me on their way from Asia, where you then were, that you spoke confidently of my early and glorious return.

If you have not been misled by a certain scientific 3
system of Etruscan lore[a] bequeathed you by your illustrious and excellent father, neither shall I be misled by my own skill in divination, which I have acquired not only from the writings and precepts of the greatest philosophers and my extensive study, as you yourself know, of their teaching, but also from a wide experience in dealing with public affairs, and the many vicissitudes of my political life.

And I have the more confidence in this divination 4
because, difficult to interpret and distracted as these times have been, it has never once in the slightest particular misled me. I should tell you what I had previously predicted, were I not afraid of your thinking that I am making things up after they have happened. But anyhow there are a large number of people who can testify that though at the beginning I warned Pompey against a coalition with Caesar, I afterwards warned him not to break with him. I saw that the coalition meant the crushing of the Senate's power, and a rupture the stirring up of a civil war. Moreover, I was on the most intimate terms with Caesar, while I had the highest esteem for Pompey; but my advice, without being disloyal to the latter, was beneficial to both.

Of other instances of my foresight I say nothing; 5
for I should be sorry that Caesar, who has deserved

meritum existimare, ea me suasisse Pompeio, quibus ille si paruisset, esset hic quidem clarus in toga et princeps, sed tantas opes, quantas nunc habet, non haberet. Eundum in Hispaniam censui; quod si fecisset, civile bellum nullum omnino fuisset. Rationem haberi absentis, non tam pugnavi, ut liceret, quam ut, quando ipso consule pugnante populus iusserat, haberetur. Causa orta belli est. Quid ego praetermisi aut monitorum aut querellarum, cum vel iniquissimam pacem iustissimo bello anteferrem!
6 Victa est auctoritas mea, non tam a Pompeio (nam is movebatur), quam ab iis, qui duce Pompeio freti peropportunam et rebus domesticis et cupiditatibus suis illius belli victoriam fore putabant. Susceptum bellum est quiescente me; depulsum ex Italia manente me, quoad potui. Sed valuit apud me plus pudor meus quam timor. Veritus sum deesse Pompei saluti, cum ille aliquando non defuisset meae. Itaque vel officio vel fama bonorum vel pudore victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, sic ego, prudens et sciens,

ad pestem ante oculos positam

sum profectus. Quo in bello nihil adversi accidit

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[a] *i.e.*, not a victorious commander, nor an autocrat.

[b] Caesar in 52, being then in Gaul, requested the tribune to propose a law permitting him to sue for the consulship without a personal canvass. Pompey, then in his third consulship, supported the proposal, which was carried. See Chron. Sum. for 52 B.C.

[c] By Pompey's resistance on the east of the Adriatic, and Caesar's crossing thither from Italy early in 48 B.C.

[d] Amphiaraus, although he foresaw the fatal termination of the expedition against Thebes, was persuaded to join it by his wife Eriphyle, whom Polyneices had corrupted by the gift of Harmonia's necklace.





so well of me, should be under the impression that I gave such advice to Pompey, that, had he followed it, Caesar, while he would no doubt be distinguished in civil life and a leading man in the state,[a] would not have the extraordinary power he now has. I expressed the opinion that Pompey ought to go to Spain; and had he done so, there would have been no civil war at all. As to recognizing the candidature of an absentee,[b] I did not fight so much for making it a legal precedent, as for having it recognized because the people had insisted upon it at the urgent instance of the consul himself.

There arose a pretext for war. What opportunity of either warning or remonstrating did I ever let slip, feeling as I did that a peace even on the most unfavourable terms was preferable to the most righteous of wars? My counsel was over-ruled, not 6
so much by Pompey, for he was impressed by it, but by those who relied on Pompey's leadership, and imagined that a victory in that war would exactly suit their private interests and their greed. The war was begun; I took no part in it; it was driven away from the shores of Italy,[c] where I remained as long as I possibly could. But my sense of honour weighed more with me than my fears. I shrank from failing Pompey in his hour of need, considering that on a former occasion he had not failed me in mine. And so, yielding perforce to my sense of duty, or my fear of what good citizens would say, or the promptings of honour (call it what you please), like Amphiaraus in the plays,[d] I too, not blindly but knowingly, set forth for "the field of ruin spread before my eyes." And in this war no disaster has happened without my foretelling it.

7 non praedicente me. Quare, quoniam, ut augures et astrologi solent, ego quoque augur publicus ex meis superioribus praedictis constitui apud te auctoritatem auguri et divinationis meae, debebit habere fidem nostra praedictio. Non igitur ex alitis involatu nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, nec ex tripudiis solistimis aut soniviis tibi auguror; sed habeo alia signa, quae observem, quae etsi non sunt certiora illis, minus tamen habent vel obscuritatis vel

8 erroris. Notantur autem mihi ad divinandum signa duplici quadam via, quarum alteram duco a Caesare ipso, alteram e temporum civilium natura atque ratione. In Caesare haec sunt—mitis clemensque natura, qualis exprimitur praeclaro illo libro *Querellarum* tuarum. Accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale est tuum, delectatur. Praeterea cedit multorum iustis, et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis, voluntatibus. In quo vehementer eum

9 consentiens Etruria movebit. Cur haec igitur adhuc parum profecerunt? Quia non putat se sustinere causas posse multorum, si tibi, cui iustius videtur irasci posse, concesserit. Quae est igitur, inquies,

[a] *Tripudium* was the technical term for the falling to the ground of the food given to the sacred chickens. *Solistimus*, lit. "most perfect." *Sonivius*, "rattling audibly on the pathway."

[b] See note on the preceding letter, § 1.

[c] Aulus was the son of Caecina of Volaterrae in Etruria, a man of some note in that home of augury and divination, see § 3 above.





And therefore now that, as is the custom of other 7 augurs and astrologers, I too, as a political augur, have by my previous prognostications established in your eyes the credibility of my powers of augury and divination, my system of prediction is one in which you will be bound to believe. Well, then, the augury I give you is not based on the flight of a fowl of the air, nor on the omen-cry of a song-bird on the left, as in our system of augury, nor on the healthy eagerness[a] of feeding fowls, or the rattle of their food on the ground; no, I have other signs for my observation, and if not more infallible than those others, they are at any rate clearer and less likely to mislead.

Now in noting these signs for the purposes of my 8 prognostications, I follow a sort of double system, the source of half of which is Caesar himself; of the other half, a studied survey of the present political situation. What I find in Caesar is this—a mild and merciful nature, such as you have so strikingly portrayed in your brilliant work, the *Remonstrances*.[b] There is also the fact that outstanding ability, such as yours, has a wonderful charm for him. Moreover, he is inclined to defer to the wishes of your many friends, reasonable as those wishes are, being inspired by an ardent devotion, and untainted by either insincerity or self-seeking. And in this regard he will be profoundly impressed by the unanimous feeling of Etruria.[c]

Why then have these considerations so far had 9 little or no effect? Well, because he believes that if he once makes a concession to you, with whom it would seem that he can give better reasons for being angry, he could not resist the appeals of many others. "What then can I hope for," you will ask,

spes ab irato? Eodem e fonte se hausturum intellegit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus. Postremo homo valde est acutus et multum providens; intellegit te, hominem in parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimum et in communi republica cuivis summorum tuae aetatis vel ingenio vel gratia vel fama populi Romani parem, non posse prohiberi republica diutius. Nolet hoc temporis potius esse aliquando beneficium, quam iam suum.

10 Dixi de Caesare; nunc dicam de temporum rerumque natura. Nemo est tam inimicus ei causae, quam Pompeius animatus melius quam paratus susceperat, qui nos malos cives dicere, aut homines improbos audeat. In quo admirari soleo gravitatem et iustitiam et sapientiam Caesaris; numquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat. At in eius personam multa fecit asperius. Armorum ista et victoriae sunt facta, non Caesaris. At nos quemadmodum est complexus! Cassium sibi legavit; Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae; Marcellum, cui maxime succensebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit.

11 Quo igitur haec spectant? Rerum hoc natura et civilium temporum non patietur; reipublicae nec

[a] See note *c*, p. 458.

[b] "Caesar, however highly he regarded Cn. Pompey as a private man, had to deal with him severely as leader of the opposite party, even going so far as to confiscate his property." Tyrrell.

[c] See iv. 4. 3.





"from one so angry?" Well, it is obvious to him that the very same fountain which has (only slightly I admit) bespattered him, will offer deep draughts of praise to his lips. Finally he is a man of penetrating intelligence who sees far ahead, and he knows perfectly well that a man like you—a man who is by far the greatest nobleman in a district of Italy[a] which he can ill afford to disregard, and who, in the state to which we all belong, is the peer of any among the most eminent men of his age, whether in ability or popularity or reputation in the eyes of the Roman people—cannot be shut out from political life any longer. He will not want this favour to be attributed some day to the lapse of time, rather than immediately to himself.

So much for Caesar. Now as to the nature of our 10 times and circumstances. No man is so bitter an enemy to the cause which Pompey, with more courage than calculation, took up as to dare to speak of us as either disloyal citizens or unprincipled men. And here I often admire the sobriety and justice and wisdom of Caesar; he never refers to Pompey except in the most complimentary terms. But, you will object, he has on many occasions treated him as a public man[b] with undue harshness. Well, that is due to the clash of arms and to victory, not to Caesar. Why, how warmly he has welcomed us all! Cassius he has made his legate; Brutus he has made governor of Gaul; Sulpicius of Greece; Marcellus, with whom he was more indignant than any one, he has recalled with every consideration for his honour.[c]

What then is the import of all this? It means 11 that the very nature of things and of politics as we find them will not tolerate—no, nor will any system

manens, nec mutata ratio feret primum, ut non in causa pari eadem sit et condicio et fortuna omnium; deinde, ut in eam civitatem boni viri et boni cives nulla ignominia notati non revertantur, in quam tot
12 nefariorum scelerum condemnati reverterunt. Habes augurium meum, quo, si quid addubitarem, non potius uterer, quam illa consolatione, qua facile fortem virum sustentarem—te, si explorata victoria arma sumpsisses pro republica (ita enim tum putabas), non nimis esse laudandum; sin propter incertos exitus eventusque bellorum posse accidere ut vinceremur putasses, non debere te ad secundam fortunam bene paratum fuisse, adversam ferre nullo modo posse. Disputarem etiam, quanto solatio tibi conscientia tui facti, quantaeve delectationi in rebus adversis litterae esse deberent. Commemorarem non solum veterum, sed horum etiam recentium vel ducum vel comitum tuorum gravissimos casus; etiam externos multos claros viros nominarem. Levat enim dolorem communis quasi legis et humanae con-
13 dicionis recordatio. Exponerem etiam, quemadmodum hic, et quanta in turba, quantaque in con-





of government, whether it remains as it is or whether it is changed, ever suffer—in the first place that all men equally implicated should not be treated alike in regard to position and property; and secondly, that honourable men and good citizens with no brand of infamy upon them should not return to that state to which so many convicted of heinous crimes have already returned.

There is my augury for you! And had I the 12
slightest doubt about it, I should not put it forward in preference to those consolatory reflections with which I should easily reassure a man of spirit; I mean that, had you taken up arms in defence of the Republic—for that is what you then thought—with the certain hope of victory, you deserved no particular credit; if, however, considering the uncertainty of the issues and consequences of wars, you had considered the possible contingency of our defeat, then it is not right of you, while you were perfectly prepared to enjoy success, to be now so entirely incapable of facing failure. I should also press this point—how much comfort you ought to find in the consciousness of all you have done, and how much pleasure to soothe your sorrows in your literary pursuits. I should dwell on the heavy disasters that have befallen not only men of old, but also these men of recent times, your own commanders, if they were not your comrades; I should quote the name of many an illustrious foreigner too. For our grief is assuaged when we remind ourselves of what we may call the universal law and the conditions of human life.

I should also give you a description of our life in 13
Rome—the utter chaos and confusion of it all!

fusione rerum omnium viveremus. Necesse est enim minore desiderio perdita republica carere, quam bona. Sed hoc genere nihil opus est. Incolumem te cito, ut spero, vel potius ut perspicio, videbimus. Interea tibi absenti, et huic, qui adest, imagini animi et corporis tui, constantissimo atque optimo filio tuo, studium, officium, operam, laborem meum iampridem et pollicitus sum et detuli; nunc hoc amplius, quod me amicissime quotidie magis Caesar amplectitur, familiares quidem eius, sicuti neminem. Apud quem quidquid valebo vel auctoritate vel gratia, valebo tibi. Tu cura, ut cum firmitudine te animi, tum etiam spe optima sustentes.

## VII

A. CAECINA S. D. M. CICERONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quod tibi non tam celeriter liber est redditus, ignosce timori nostro et miserere temporis. Filius, ut audio, pertimuit, neque iniuria, si liber exisset (quando non tam interest, quo animo scribatur, quam quo accipiatur), ne ea res inepte mihi noceret, cum

[a] It is not clear whether this was Caecina's *Book of Remonstrances* (*Liber Querellarum*) mentioned in the preceding letter, and now sent to Cicero for his revision, or, as Watson inclines to think, a continuation of that book.





For there needs must be less regret at being excluded from a ruined, than from a prosperous state. But there is no occasion for this kind of talk. Very soon I shall see you restored to your full rights; such is my hope or rather my clear conviction. Meantime I have long ago not only promised, but already placed at your disposal my zeal, attention, service, and industry while you are away, and at the disposal of him who is with us, that replica of his father in mind and body, your very staunch and admirable son; and that all the more unreservedly now that Caesar in the most friendly manner is making himself more and more agreeable to me every day, while as for his intimates, they make more of me than of anyone else. What influence I acquire with him, whether by personal ascendancy or by favour, that influence I shall use in your interests. See to it on your part that you hold your head up not only as a man of firm resolution, but as one inspired with the best of hopes.

## VII

AULUS CAECINA TO CICERO

Sicily, December, 46 B.C.

My book[a] was not delivered to you as quickly as 1
you expected; well, for that you must pardon my timidity and pity my unhappy position. My son, I am told, was dreadfully afraid—and I don't blame him—that if the book had been published (since the spirit in which a book is written is not so important as the spirit in which it is taken), the publication of

praesertim adhuc stili poenas dem. Qua quidem in re singulari sum fato. Nam cum mendum scripturae litura tollatur, stultitia fama multetur, meus error exsilio corrigitur. Cuius summa criminis est, quod
2 armatus adversario maledixi. Nemo nostrum est, ut opinor, quin vota victoriae suae fecerit, nemo quin, etiam cum de alia re immolaret, tamen eo quidem ipso tempore, ut quam primum Caesar superaretur, optarit. Hoc si non cogitat, omnibus rebus felix est; si scit et persuasus est, quid irascitur ei, qui aliquid scripsit contra suam voluntatem, cum ignorit omnibus, qui multa deos venerati sint contra eius salutem? Sed, ut eodem revertar, causa haec fuit timoris. Scripsi de te parce, medius fidius, et timide, non revocans me ipse, sed paene refugiens. Genus autem hoc scripturae non modo liberum, sed incitatum atque elatum esse debere, quis ignorat? Solutum existimatur esse alteri maledicere (tamen cavendum est, ne in petulantiam incidas); impeditum se ipsum laudare, ne vitium arrogantiae subsequatur; solum vero liberum alterum laudare, de quo quidquid detrahas, necesse est aut infirmitati aut invidiae assignetur. Ac nescio an tibi gratius opportuniusque

[a] *i.e.*, "through my own folly." Jeans takes *inepte* as referring to the reader—"might prove unreasonably injurious to me."

[b] *i.e.*, the eulogistic style.





it would stupidly[a] do me harm, especially as I am still paying the penalty of my writings. And in that respect my fate has no parallel; for while a clerical error is removed by erasure, and fatuity is penalized by publicity, my mistake is corrected by banishment, though the charge against me amounts to no more than my having spoken ill of an adversary when I was actually in arms against him.

There is not a man among us, I imagine, who 2
did not pray to the Goddess of Victory to be on his side, not a man who, even when sacrificing with some other object, even at that very moment, I say, did not utter a prayer for the earliest possible defeat of Caesar. If this never enters his mind, his bliss is unalloyed; if he knows it, and is convinced of it, why is he angry with a man who has only written something against his aims, when he has pardoned all those who have so often made supplication to the gods against his welfare?

But to go back to where I began, the reason of 3
my timidity was this; I have written about you, I swear it, sparingly and cautiously, not only pulling myself up, but almost turning tail. Now this kind of composition,[b] as everybody knows, ought to be not only free, but enthusiastic and elevated. Invective is supposed to be unrestrained, but there you must be careful to avoid the pitfall of scurrility; self-praise is always fettered, for one fears the vice of self-assertiveness is not far behind it. The only theme in which you have a free hand is praise of another, any disparagement of whom will inevitably be attributed either to your incompetence or your jealousy. And yet I am inclined to think that what has happened will be more acceptable to

acciderit; nam quod praeclare facere non poteram, primum erat, non attingere; secundum beneficium, quam parcissime facere. Sed tamen ego quidem me sustinui. Multa minui, multa sustuli, complura ne posui quidem. Quemadmodum igitur, scalarum gradus si alios tollas, alios incidas, nonnullos male haerentes relinquas, ruinae periculum struas, non ascensum pares, sic tot malis cum vinctum tum fractum studium scribendi quid dignum auribus
4 aut probabile potest afferre? Cum vero ad ipsius Caesaris nomen veni, toto corpore contremisco, non poenae metu, sed illius iudici; totum enim Caesarem non novi. Quem putas animum esse, ubi secum loquitur? "Hoc probabit: hoc verbum suspiciosum est. Quid, si hoc muto? At vereor, ne peius sit. —Age vero, laudo aliquem. Num offendo? Cum porro reprendam,[1] quid si non vult? Armati stilum persequitur: victi et nondum restituti quid faciet?" Auges etiam tu mihi timorem, qui in *Oratore* tuo caves tibi per Brutum, et ad excusationem socium quaeris. Ubi hoc omnium patronus facis, quid me, veterem tuum, nunc omnium clientem,

[1] *Wesenberg*: offendam *MSS.*

[a] In the above passage Caecina apologizes somewhat awkwardly for his *timidity* in praising Cicero. "Both invective and self-praise" he argues "are subject to their respective limitations; not so with eulogy, which is (or ought to be) free and untrammelled. And yet I, in my eulogy of you, had not a free hand; and being unable, for fear of offending Caesar, to rise to the height of my theme, I said as little about you as possible."

[b] Cicero in his *Orator* states that his *Laus Catonis*, "Eulogy of Cato," was written at the instance of Brutus. Both were written in 46 B.C.





you and suit you better; for since I could not do the thing with any distinction, my best course was not to meddle with it; the next best to do so as sparingly as possible. But anyhow I did restrain myself. I modified many things, I struck out many things, and a great deal I never put down at all.[a]

Exactly then as in the case of a ladder, if you were to remove some of the rungs, make deep cuts in others, and leave one here and there not properly fixed, you would be planning a not improbable fall for the climber, instead of providing a means of ascent, so, if in his literary efforts a man is not only bound down but crippled by so many cruel restrictions, what can he produce worth listening to, or likely to win approval?

When, however, I come upon Caesar's own name, 4
I tremble in every limb, not from fear of punishment, but of what he will think of me; for I only partially know him. What do you suppose to be the state of my mind, when it communes thus with itself, "To this he will not object, but this word sounds suspicious; what if I change it? Well, I am afraid the alternative is even worse. Come now, suppose I say a good word for someone; surely I do not thereby offend him? When I proceed to reproach someone, what if he does not like it? He persecutes the pen of a man in arms against him; what will he do to that of a man defeated and not yet reinstated?"

You yourself too increase my fears when in your *Orator*[b] you shelter yourself under the wing of Brutus and try to justify yourself by coupling his name with your own. Now, when you, who are every man's advocate, do this, how ought I to feel about it, I, an old client of yours, and now every

sentire oportet? In hac igitur calumnia timoris et caecae suspicionis tormento cum plurima ad alieni sensus coniecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur, quam difficile sit evadere, si minus expertus es,[1] quod te ad omnia summum atque excellens ingenium armavit, nos sentimus. Sed tamen ego filio dixeram, librum tibi legeret et auferret aut ea condicione daret, si reciperes te correcturum, hoc est, si totum alium
5 faceres. De Asiatico itinere, quamquam summa necessitas premebat, ut imperasti, feci. Te pro me quid horter? Vides tempus venisse, quo necesse sit de nobis constitui. Nihil est, mi Cicero, quod filium meum exspectes. Adolescens est; omnia excogitare vel studio vel aetate vel metu non potest. Totum negotium tu sustineas oportet; in te mihi omnis spes est. Tu pro tua prudentia, quibus rebus gaudeat, quibus capiatur Caesar, tenes; a te omnia proficiscantur, et per te ad exitum perducantur necesse est. Apud ipsum multum, apud eius omnes plurimum
6 potes. Unum tibi si persuaseris, non hoc esse tui muneris, si quid rogatus fueris, ut facias (quamquam

[1] *Though there is no trace of it in the* MSS., *it is highly probable that* tu, *balancing* nos, *has dropped out between* expertus *and* es.

[a] Caecina wished to go to Asia to collect some old debts there, but Cicero advised him to remain in Sicily (*cf.* vi. 8. 2).
[b] *i.e.*, of interceding for Caecina with Caesar.





man's client? Morbidly apprehensive then and tortured by blind suspicion as I am, when most of what one writes is adapted to what one guesses to be the feelings of another, and not to the expression of one's own judgment, you may be sure that I appreciate the difficulty of emerging unscathed, though that is hardly your experience, armed as you are against every eventuality by your own consummate and outstanding genius. Anyhow I have told my son to read the book, and then take it away with him, or else give it to you, but on the one condition only, that you would undertake to correct it, which means that you would make another book of it altogether.

As to my journey to Asia,[a] though it is pressed 5
upon me as absolutely necessary, I have carried out your orders. Now, why am I urging you in particular to act for me? Well, you see the time has come when my case must be definitely settled. It is no good, my dear Cicero, waiting for my son. He is but a young man, and, whether because of his impetuosity, or his youthfulness, or his apprehensions, he cannot give due consideration to everything. It is you who have got to shoulder the whole business[b]; all my hope is in you. It is you who seize with characteristic penetration upon the points which rejoice the heart and take the fancy of Caesar. Everything must originate with you, and be brought to an issue through your instrumentality. You have much influence with the great man himself, more than anyone with all his friends.

If you convince yourself of the one fact that this 6
is not merely a call upon your generosity, to do whatever you have been asked to do (though that is

id magnum et amplum est), sed totum tuum esse onus, perficies. Nisi forte aut in miseria nimis stulte, aut in amicitia nimis impudenter tibi onus impono. Sed utrique rei excusationem tuae vitae consuetudo dat. Nam quod ita consuesti pro amicis laborare, non iam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Quod ad librum attinet, quem tibi filius dabit, peto a te, ne exeat, aut ita corrigas, ne mihi noceat.

## VIII

M. CICERO S. D. A. CAECINAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quum esset mecum Largus, homo tui studiosus, locutus, Kalendas Ian. tibi praefinitas esse, quod omnibus rebus perspexeram, quae Balbus et Oppius, absente Caesare, egissent, ea solere illi rata esse, egi vehementer cum his, ut hoc mihi darent, tibi in Sicilia, quoad vellemus, esse uti liceret. Qui mihi consuessent aut libenter polliceri, si quid esset eiusmodi, quod eorum animos non offenderet, aut etiam negare et afferre rationem, cur negarent, huic meae rogationi potius non continuo responderunt, eodem die tamen ad me reverterunt; mihi hoc dederunt, ut

[a] In Sicily.





a great and important consideration), but that the whole business is on your shoulders, why, then you will carry it through; unless of course my misery makes me too tactless, or my friendship too presumptuous, in laying this burden upon you. But an excuse may be found for either in your own lifelong custom. For you have so accustomed yourself to take trouble for your friends that your intimates no longer merely hope for it from you, but demand it of you. As far as concerns the book which my son will give you, I entreat you not to permit its publication, or else to correct it in such a way as to prevent its doing me any harm.

## VIII

CICERO TO AULUS CAECINA

Rome, December, 46 B.C.

Largus, who is devoted to you, informed me in the 1
course of conversation that the first of January had been fixed as the limit of your stay.[a] All that had happened having convinced me that whatever Balbus and Oppius had arranged in Caesar's absence was usually confirmed by him, I earnestly pleaded with them to grant me the favour of allowing you to remain in Sicily as long as we desired it. Now although it had always been their habit either readily to promise anything of such a nature as would not run counter to the feelings of their party, or else, even if they refused, to give a reason for their refusal, on this occasion they thought it best to give no immediate answer to my petition. However they came back to me on that same day and granted

esses in Sicilia, quoad velles; se praestaturos, nihil ex eo te offensionis habiturum. Quando, quid tibi permittatur, cognosti, quid mihi placeat, puto te scire
2 oportere. Actis his rebus, litterae a te mihi redditae sunt, quibus a me consilium petis, quid sim tibi auctor, in Siciliane subsidas, an ad reliquias Asiaticae negotiationis proficiscare. Haec tua deliberatio non mihi convenire visa est cum oratione Largi. Ille enim mecum, quasi tibi non liceret in Sicilia diutius commorari, ita locutus erat; tu autem, quasi concessum sit, ita deliberas. Sed ego, sive hoc sive illud est, in Sicilia censeo commorandum. Propinquitas locorum vel ad impetrandum adiuvabit crebris litteris et nuntiis, vel ad reditus celeritatem, re aut impetrata, quod spero, aut aliqua ratione confecta. Quam-
3 obrem censeo magno opere commorandum. T. Furfanio Postumo, familiari meo, legatisque eius, item meis familiaribus, diligentissime te commendabo, cum venerint. Erant enim omnes Mutinae. Viri sunt optimi, et tui similium studiosi, et mei necessarii. Quae mihi venient in mentem, quae ad te pertinere arbitrabor, ea mea sponte faciam. Si quid ignorabo,

[a] This Furfanius was a *iudex* in the trial of Milo, and had been threatened by Clodius. He was now governor of Sicily for the second time.





my request that you should remain in Sicily as long as you desired it, adding that they would guarantee your doing so would not in the slightest degree affect your interests. Now that you have been informed what you are permitted to do, I think you ought to know what my own idea is.

When all this had been settled a letter was de- 2
livered to me from you, in which you ask my advice as to what I suggest you should do, whether you should settle down in Sicily or set out to finish off your arrears of business in Asia. Your discussing alternatives in this way did not seem to me to fit in with what Largus said. He spoke to me in such a way as to imply that you were not at liberty to remain in Sicily any longer, whereas you discuss the question as though that permission had been given you. But whether the latter or the former is the truth, my own opinion is that you ought to stay in Sicily. The proximity of the island to Rome will help you, whether in carrying your point by the frequent interchange of letters and messengers, or in expediting your return, when the matter is either arranged according to your request, as I hope it will be, or settled once for all in some other way. And that is why I am strongly of opinion that you ought to stay.

I shall recommend you with all earnestness to my 3
friend T. Furfanius Postumus [a] and his legates, who are also my friends, when they arrive here; for they are all at Mutina. They are excellent fellows, fond of men like yourself, and very intimate with me. Whatever occurs to me to do which I judge to be in your interests, that I shall do on my own initiative. If there is anything I do not know, I have only to

de eo admonitus omnium studia vincam. Ego etsi coram de te cum Furfanio ita loquar, ut tibi litteris meis ad eum nihil opus sit, tamen, quoniam tuis placuit, te habere meas litteras, quas ei redderes, morem his gessi. Earum litterarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

## IX

M. CICERO S. D. T. FURFANIO PROCOS.

Rome, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum A. Caecina tanta mihi familiaritas consuetudoque semper fuit, ut nulla maior esse possit. Nam et patre eius, claro homine et forti viro, plurimum usi sumus, et hunc a puero, quod et spem mihi magnam afferebat summae probitatis summaeque eloquentiae, et vivebat mecum coniunctissime, non solum officiis amicitiae, sed etiam studiis communibus, sic semper dilexi, ut non ullo cum homine con-
2 iunctius viverem. Nihil attinet me plura scribere. Quam mihi necesse sit eius salutem et fortunas, quibuscumque rebus possim, tueri, vides. Reliquum est, ut, cum cognorim pluribus rebus, quid tu et de bonorum fortuna et de reipublicae calamitatibus sentires, nihil a te petam, nisi ut ad eam voluntatem,





be apprised of it to prove myself the most zealous of men. Although the personal interview I shall have with Furfanius will make it quite unnecessary for you to have a letter from me to him, still, as it is the pleasure of your relations that you should have a letter from me to put in his hands, I have humoured them. A copy of that letter is transcribed below.

## IX

CICERO TO FURFANIUS, PROCONSUL OF SICILY

(enclosed in the preceding letter)

Nobody could possibly be on terms of more 1
familiar intimacy with anybody than I have always been with Aulus Caecina. For not only did I enjoy much of the society of that distinguished man and gallant gentleman, his father, but for this Caecina from his very boyhood, both because he gave me great hopes of high integrity and extraordinary eloquence, and also because our lives were very closely knit together by the mutual favours of friendship as well as by community of tastes—for him, I say, I have always had such an affection that there was no man in the world with whom I lived on terms of greater intimacy.

I need write no more. You see for yourself how 2
necessary it is for me to look after his welfare and property in every possible way. It only remains for me, now that I have more proofs than ever to assure me of your sentiments regarding the fortune of loyal citizens and the disasters of the state, to make this one request of you, and no more—that the goodwill you would have been likely to entertain

quam tua sponte erga Caecinam habiturus esses, tantus cumulus accedat commendatione mea, quanti me a te fieri intellego. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

## XA

M. CICERO S. D. TREBIANO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Ego quanti te faciam semperque fecerim quantique me a te fieri intellexerim, sum mihi ipse testis. Nam et consilium tuum, vel casus potius, diutius in armis civilibus commorandi, semper mihi magno dolori fuit, et hic eventus, quod tardius, quam est aequum, et quam ego vellem, recuperas fortunam et dignitatem tuam, mihi non minori curae est, quam tibi semper fuerunt casus mei. Itaque et Postumuleno et Sestio et saepissime Attico nostro proximeque Theudae, liberto tuo, totum me patefeci, et haec his singulis saepe dixi, quacumque re possem, me tibi et liberis tuis satisfacere cupere; idque tu ad tuos velim scribas, haec quidem certe, quae in potestate mea sunt, ut operam, consilium, rem, fidem meam sibi ad
2 omnes res parata putent. Si auctoritate et gratia tantum possem, quantum in ea republica, de qua ita

[a] Nothing more is known of Trebianus than may be gathered from this and the next letter.





towards Caecina on your own account may be so abundantly enhanced by my recommendation as not to fall short of the esteem I understand you have for myself. You can do nothing that would give me greater pleasure than this.

## XA

CICERO TO TREBIANUS [a]

Rome, September (?), 46 B.C.

How highly I esteem and always have esteemed you, and how highly I am assured you esteem me, I can testify for myself. For I have been much troubled by your policy, or rather your misfortune, in remaining too long in civil war, and the present result—that the recovery of your estate and position takes more time than it properly should, and than I could have wished—is no less an anxiety to me than my misfortunes have always been to you. I have accordingly revealed my inmost thoughts to Postumulenus and Sestius and, oftener than to anyone, to our friend Atticus, and most recently of all to your freedman Theudas, and frequently assured each of them individually that I desired in every possible way to satisfy your own and your children's expectations; and I should be glad if you would write to your people to the effect that they must consider all I can command, at any rate,—my endeavours, advice, possessions, and loyalty—as at their beck and call for any purpose whatever. 1

Did I possess that influence and popularity which, in 2
that state I have served in the way you know, I

meritus sum, posse deberem, tu quoque is esses, qui fuisti, cum omni gradu amplissimo dignissimus, tum certe ordinis tui facile princeps. Sed quoniam eodem tempore eademque de causa nostrum uterque cecidit, tibi et illa polliceor, quae supra scripsi, quae sunt adhuc mea, et ea, quae praeterea videor mihi ex aliqua parte retinere, tamquam ex reliquiis pristinae dignitatis. Neque enim ipse Caesar, ut multis rebus intellegere potui, est alienus a nobis, et omnes fere familiarissimi eius, casu devincti magnis meis veteribus officiis, me diligenter observant et colunt. Itaque si qui mihi erit aditus de tuis fortunis, id est de tua incolumitate, in qua sunt omnia, agendi, quod quidem quotidie magis ex eorum sermonibus adducor
3 ut sperem, agam per me ipse et moliar. Singula persequi non est necesse. Universum studium meum et benevolentiam ad te defero. Sed magni mea interest hoc tuos omnes scire, quod tuis litteris fieri potest, ut intellegant, omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano. Hoc eo pertinet, ut nihil existiment esse tam difficile, quod non pro te mihi susceptum iucundum sit futurum.

[a] *i.e.*, the equestrian.





ought to possess, you also would be what you formerly were—at once most worthy of every highest position and assuredly in your own order[a] easily the foremost man.

But now that we have both been ruined under the same political conditions and for the same reason, I promise you not only what I have specified above, which is still mine to promise, but also whatever besides I seem to myself still to retain out of the remnants, as it were, of my old-time dignity. For Caesar himself, as I have been able to gather from many indications, is not unfavourably inclined to me, and practically all his most intimate friends also, being, as it so happens, under an obligation to me for signal services in the past, are showing me marked attention and respect.

And so, if I find any way open to me to deal with the matter of your fortunes, that is to say, your reinstatement in your rights—for everything depends upon that and what they tell me makes me daily more disposed to be hopeful about it—then I shall deal with it personally and energetically.

I need not go into details. All my devotion and 3
friendliness I lay at your feet without reserve. But it is of great importance to me that all your people should know this, and all that is required is a letter from you, so that they may understand that whatever belongs to Cicero is at the disposal of Trebianus. My object in doing this is to convince them that nothing is so difficult but that my undertaking it on your behalf would be a pleasure.

## XB

### M. CICERO S. D. TREBIANO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

4 Antea misissem ad te litteras, si genus scribendi invenirem. Tali enim tempore aut consolari amicorum est aut polliceri. Consolatione non utebar, quod ex multis audiebam, quam fortiter sapienterque ferres iniuriam temporum, quamque te vehementer consolaretur conscientia factorum et consiliorum tuorum. Quod quidem si facis, magnum fructum studiorum optimorum capis, in quibus te semper scio esse versatum; idque ut facias, etiam atque etiam te
5 hortor. Simul et illud tibi, homini peritissimo rerum et exemplorum et omnis vetustatis, ne ipse quidem rudis, sed in studio minus fortasse, quam vellem, et in rebus atque usu plus etiam, quam vellem, versatus, spondeo, tibi istam acerbitatem et iniuriam non diuturnam fore. Nam et ipse, qui plurimum potest, quotidie mihi delabi ad aequitatem et ad rerum naturam videtur, et ipsa causa ea est, ut iam simul cum republica, quae in perpetuum iacere non potest, necessario reviviscat atque recreetur; quotidieque

[a] In view of these opening words, Tyrrell puts this letter first, and XA second.

[b] I am indebted for the rendering to Page, who takes *aequitas* to mean "a composed frame of mind" as elsewhere in Cicero.





## XB

### CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, September (?), 46 B.C.

I should have sent you a letter before,[a] were I able to find the right note to strike in writing. For at such a time as this it is the part of a friend either to offer consolation or to make promises. Consolation I set aside, since many people have been telling me with what courage and wisdom you were bearing the injustice of the times, and how profoundly comforted you were by the consciousness of what you have done, and had it in your mind to do. 4

Well, if this is what you are doing, you are reaping the rich reward of the excellent studies in which I know you have always been occupied, and I urge you again and again to go on doing so.

At the same time, I have this to say: excellently versed as you are in facts, in precedents, and in the whole of history (and I am no novice myself either, though with studies I have perhaps had less to do than I could wish, and with practical affairs even more than I could wish), I pledge you my word that the bitter injustice you are suffering will not be of long duration, and that for two reasons—the very man who has supreme power is himself daily, I think, moving insensibly towards a position of equipoise and the natural order of things,[b] and, secondly, our cause itself is such that by this time together with the state—and that cannot lie prostrate for ever—it is necessarily recovering life and vigour, while every day our fears are falsified by 5

aliquid fit lenius et liberalius, quam timebamus. Quae quoniam in temporum inclinationibus saepe parvis posita sunt, omnia momenta observabimus, neque ullum praetermittemus tui iuvandi et levandi
6 locum. Itaque illud alterum, quod dixi, litterarum genus quotidie mihi, ut spero, fiet proclivius, ut etiam polliceri possim. Id re, quam verbis, faciam libentius. Tu velim existimes, et plures te amicos habere, quam qui in isto casu sint ac fuerint, quantum quidem ego intellegere potuerim, et me concedere eorum nemini. Fortem fac animum habeas et magnum, quod est in uno te. Quae sunt in fortuna, temporibus regentur, et consiliis nostris providebuntur.

## XI

M. CICERO S. D. TREBIANO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Dolabellam antea tantummodo diligebam, obligatus ei nihil eram (nec enim acciderat mihi opus esse, et ille mihi debebat, quod non defueram eius periculis); nunc tanto sum devinctus eius beneficio, quod et antea in re, et hoc tempore in salute tua cumulatissime mihi satisfecit, ut nemini plus debeam.

[a] *i.e.*, the consolatory kind.

[b] Dolabella was twice tried on a capital charge, before he was twenty. What those charges were we do not know. For a further account of Dolabella see note on iii. 10. 1.





some unexpectedly mild and liberal measure. And as everything now depends upon the oscillations, slight as they often are, of time and circumstance, I shall keep my eye on every swing of the pendulum, and let slip no opportunity of helping you and lightening your lot.

Therefore that second kind of letter-writing[a] which 6
I mentioned will daily become easier for me, so that I can even make promises. As to that, I should prefer to act rather than to talk. I should like you to believe that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, you have more friends than any of those who are and have been as unfortunate as yourself, and that I yield precedence to no one of them. Do not fail to maintain a high and courageous spirit, and that depends upon yourself alone; what depends upon fortune will be ruled by circumstances, and provided for by the measures we take.

## XI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, middle of June, 45 B.C.

For Dolabella I have had so far no more than a 1
kindly regard; I was under no obligation to him; I had never, as it happened, any occasion to be so, and *he* was in *my* debt, because I had not failed him in the days of his danger.[b] Now I am beholden to him for a kindness so exceptional—for he has given me the most unbounded satisfaction first in the matter of your property, and now in your restoration—that I am more indebted to him than to any

Qua in re tibi gratulor ita vehementer, ut te quoque mihi gratulari, quam gratias agere malim; alterum omnino non desidero, alterum vere facere poteris.
2 Quod reliquum est, quando tibi virtus et dignitas tua reditum ad tuos aperuit, est tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi, quid amiseris, oblivisci, quid recuperaris, cogitare. Vives cum tuis, vives nobiscum. Plus acquisisti dignitatis, quam amisisti rei familiaris; quae ipsa tamen[1] esset iucundior, si ulla res esset publica. Vestorius, noster familiaris, ad me scripsit, te mihi maximas gratias agere. Haec praedicatio tua mihi valde grata est, eaque te uti facile patior, cum apud alios, tum mehercule apud Sironem, nostrum amicum. Quae enim facimus, ea prudentissimo cuique maxime probata esse volumus. Te cupio videre quam primum.

## XII

M. CICERO S. P. D. AMPIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Gratulor tibi, mi Balbe, vereque gratulor; nec sum tam stultus, ut te usura falsi gaudi frui velim, deinde

[1] *Lambinus*: tum *MG*: tam *R*.

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[a] A banker of Puteoli.
[b] An Epicurean philosopher, who taught Virgil.
[c] See note on i. 3. 2.





man alive. And as to your restoration, I congratulate you upon it so whole-heartedly, that you would please me better by offering me *your* congratulations than by thanking me; I can well dispense with your doing the latter, and you can do the former without insincerity.

For the rest, now that your high character and merits have thrown open to you the way of return to your family, it befits your wisdom and magnanimity to forget what you have lost, and to reflect upon what you have recovered. You will live with your own people, you will live with us. You have gained more in prestige than you have lost in private property; though you would get more pleasure out of the former too, if only there were any commonwealth in existence. 2

Vestorius,[a] our common friend, writes to me that you say you are profoundly grateful to me. That you should speak out so frankly is very gratifying to me, and I have not the slightest objection to your doing so in the presence of others, and particularly of course in the presence of our friend Siro.[b] For it is my desire that anything I do should be commended most by those who have most discernment. I am anxious to see you as soon as possible.

## XII

CICERO TO AMPIUS BALBUS[c]

Rome, September, 46 B.C.

I congratulate you, my dear Balbus, and my congratulations are sincere; nor am I so insensate as to wish you to have the temporary enjoyment of a false 1

frangi repente, atque ita cadere, ut nulla res ad aequitatem te animi possit postea extollere. Egi tuam causam apertius, quam mea tempora ferebant. Vincebatur enim fortuna ipsa debilitatae gratiae nostrae tui caritate et meo perpetuo erga te amore, culto a te diligentissime. Omnia promissa, confirmata, certa et rata sunt, quae ad reditum et ad salutem tuam pertinent. Vidi, cognovi, interfui.
2 Etenim omnes Caesaris familiares satis opportune habeo implicatos consuetudine et benevolentia, sic ut, cum ab illo discesserint, me habeant proximum. Hoc Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Postumus plane ita faciunt, ut me unice diligant. Quod si mihi per me efficiendum fuisset, non me poeniteret pro ratione temporum ita esse molitum. Sed nihil est a me inservitum temporis causa; veteres mihi necessitudines cum his omnibus intercedunt, quibuscum ego agere de te non destiti. Principem tamen habuimus Pansam, tui studiosissimum, mei cupidum, qui valeret apud illum non minus auctoritate

[a] C. Vibius Pansa loyally supported Caesar, who in 46 gave him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and in 44 nominated him consul for 43 with Hirtius. Pansa was defeated by Antonius at Forum Gallorum in February 43, and mortally wounded, the victor being defeated on the same day by Hirtius.

[b] Aulus Hirtius, having joined Octavius, relieved Mutina when besieged by Antonius, whom he overcame in battle, but was himself slain.

[c] L. Cornelius Balbus was a native of Gades, but Caesar made him his *praefectus fabrum*, thus enabling him to amass a huge fortune. After Caesar's death he joined





felicity, and then be suddenly crushed and so cast down that nothing could ever afterwards raise your spirits even to the point of composure. I have pleaded your cause more openly than my own political position warranted; for the very misfortune of my diminished influence was outweighed by my affection and my unceasing love for you, which you have yourself so assiduously fostered. All the promises bearing upon your return and restoration have been confirmed, certified, and ratified; I have seen, examined, taken part in everything.

In fact, opportunely enough, I have all Caesar's 2
intimate friends so closely bound to me by familiar acquaintance and kindly feeling that, after him, they account me next. This Pansa,[a] Hirtius,[b] Balbus,[c] Oppius,[d] Matius[e] and Postumus,[f] do so absolutely that their affection for me stands alone. Had I been obliged to secure this by my own personal efforts, I should not, considering the nature of the times, regret having made such efforts. But in no respect have I played the time-server. Here my old ties of friendship with all these men come in, and I have never ceased to plead with them on your behalf. My chief support, however, I have found in Pansa (a man devotedly attached to you, and anxious to be friends with me), since he had influence with Caesar, not less because of his strong personality than

Octavius, and was consul in 40, being the first foreigner to hold that office.

[d] C. Oppius was always closely connected with Balbus in the service of Caesar.

[e] C. Matius was devotedly attached to Caesar. See xi. 28.

[f] Probably M. Curtius Postumus, made tribune of the soldiers by Caesar at Cicero's instance.

quam gratia. Cimber autem Tillius mihi plane satisfecit. Valent enim apud Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes, quam necessariae; quas quia Cimber habebat, plus valuit, quam pro ullo alio valere
3 potuisset. Diploma statim non est datum; quod mirifica est improbitas in quibusdam, qui tulissent acerbius veniam tibi dari, quem[1] illi appellant *tubam belli civilis*, multaque ita dicunt, quasi non gaudeant id bellum incidisse. Quare visum est occultius agendum, neque ullo modo divulgandum, de te iam esse perfectum. Sed id erit perbrevi, nec dubito quin, legente te has litteras, confecta iam res futura sit. Pansa quidem mihi, gravis homo et certus, non solum confirmavit, verum etiam recepit, perceleriter se ablaturum diploma. Mihi tamen placuit haec ad te perscribi. Minus enim te firmum sermo Eppuleiae tuae lacrimaeque Ampiae declarabant, quam significant tuae litterae. Atque illae arbitrabantur, cum a te abessent ipsae, multo in graviore te cura futurum. Quare magno opere e re[2] putavi, angoris et doloris tui levandi causa, pro certis ad te ea, quae essent
4 certa, perscribi oportere. Scis, me antea sic solitum

[1] *G*: quam *MR*.
[2] e re *added by Guilielmius.*

[a] L. Tillius Cimber, a friend of Caesar, but subsequently one of his murderers.





because Caesar liked him. Tillius Cimber[a] also has given me complete satisfaction. For it is not self-seeking petitions that carry weight with Caesar, so much as those based on the petitioner's duty to a friend; and as the latter was the case with Cimber, he had more influence than he could possibly have had on behalf of anyone else.

Your passport has not been given you at once, 3
because of the astounding rascality of certain persons who would have bitterly resented any pardon being extended to you, whom they call "the trumpet of civil war," and perpetually talk as though they were not delighted that that war had occurred. And this is why we thought that we should act with some degree of secrecy, and that it should by no means be published abroad that your affairs had already been settled. But it will be so very shortly, and I have no doubt that, when you read this letter, the whole business will have been completed. Pansa indeed, a man of weight and to be trusted, not only asseverated, but pledged himself that he would procure the passport without a moment's delay. Anyhow I thought it best that you should have a full account of what has happened; for your wife Eppuleia's oral report and Ampia's tears plainly showed me that you are not quite so unperturbed as your letter would lead me to believe. Moreover, it was their opinion that when they themselves were no longer with you, you would be in a far more anxious state of mind. And so I deemed it highly essential for the alleviation of your distress and sorrow that the real facts of the case should be fully reported to you *as* real facts.

You know that I have hitherto been in the habit 4

esse scribere ad te, magis ut consolarer fortem virum atque sapientem, quam ut exploratam spem salutis ostenderem, nisi eam quam ab ipsa republica, cum hic ardor restinctus esset, sperari oportere censerem. Recordare tuas litteras, quibus et magnum animum mihi semper ostendisti, et ad omnes casus ferendos constantem ac paratum; quod ego non mirabar, cum recordarer, te et a primis temporibus aetatis in republica esse versatum, et tuos magistratus in ipsa discrimina incidisse salutis fortunarumque communium, et in hoc ipsum bellum esse ingressum, non solum, uti victor beatus, sed etiam, ut, si ita accidisset,
5 victus ut sapiens esses. Deinde, cum studium tuum consumas in virorum fortium factis memoriae prodendis, considerare debes, nihil tibi esse committendum, quamobrem eorum, quos laudas, te non simillimum praebeas. Sed haec oratio magis esset apta ad illa tempora, quae iam effugisti; nunc vero tantum te para ad haec nobiscum ferenda, quibus ego si quam medicinam invenirem, tibi quoque eamdem traderem. Sed est unum perfugium doctrina ac litterae, quibus semper usi sumus; quae secundis rebus delectationem modo habere videbantur, nunc vero etiam salutem. Sed, ut ad initium revertar, cave dubites, quin omnia de salute ac reditu tuo perfecta sint.





of writing to you in such a way as rather to console a brave and wise man than to lay before you any assured hope of your restoration, except what, once this conflagration had been extinguished, I thought might justly be expected from the Republic itself. Remind yourself of your own letters to me, in which you have ever displayed a high spirit, resolute, and prepared to bear whatever might befall; and I was not surprised at it when I remembered that you had been engaged in public affairs from the earliest years of your life, and that the tenure of your public offices coincided with the most critical periods in the welfare and fortunes of the whole community; yes, and that you entered this very war not merely to play the happy victor, but also, should it so befall, if vanquished, the philosopher.

In the next place, since you devote your literary 5
activities to putting on record the exploits of men of courage, it is your duty to reflect that you cannot afford to do anything to disprove your own close resemblance to those whom you eulogize.

But this sort of talk would be better suited to those times from which you have now escaped. As it is you have only to prepare yourself to join with us in enduring present conditions; could I but discover a remedy for them, I should pass that same on to you. We have, however, one refuge—that learning and literature of which we have always availed ourselves; in prosperity we regarded them as a source of pleasure only, now we regard them as our very salvation.

But, to revert to what I said at first, you must never have any doubt but that everything connected with your restoration and return has been fully accomplished.

## XIII

### CICERO LIGARIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Etsi tali tuo tempore me aut consolandi aut iuvandi tui causa scribere ad te aliquid pro nostra amicitia oportebat, tamen adhuc id non feceram, quia neque lenire videbar oratione neque levare posse dolorem tuum. Postea vero quam magnam spem habere coepi fore ut te brevi tempore incolumem haberemus, facere non potui, quin tibi et sententiam et
2 voluntatem declararem meam. Primum igitur scribam, quod intellego et perspicio, non fore in te Caesarem duriorem, nam et res eum quotidie, et dies et opinio hominum et, ut mihi videtur, etiam sua natura mitiorem facit, idque cum de reliquis sentio, tum de te etiam audio ex familiarissimis eius, quibus ego ex eo tempore, quo primum ex Africa nuntius venit, supplicare una cum fratribus tuis non destiti. Quorum quidem et virtute et pietate et amori in te singulari et assidua et perpetua cura salutis tuae tantum proficitur, ut nihil sit, quod non ipsum Caesarem
3 tributurum existimem. Sed si tardius fit, quam volumus, magnis occupationibus eius, a quo omnia

[a] He had fought against Caesar at Thapsus, and, though pardoned, was not allowed to return to Italy. Being prosecuted by Q. Tubero on a charge of *perduellio* for his conduct in Africa (*i.e.*, supporting Juba against the Romans), he was defended by Cicero in an admirable speech, still extant, which moved Caesar to sanction his return.

[b] Of Caesar's victory at Thapsus on Apr. 6, 46 B.C.





## XIII

### CICERO TO QUINTUS LIGARIUS [a]

Rome, August or September, 46 B.C.

Although at such a crisis in your life it was incumbent upon me in view of our friendship to write you something that would either cheer or help you, still I have not hitherto done so because it seemed to me that I could not either mitigate or alleviate your sorrow by anything I could say. But as soon as I began to feel really hopeful that we should very soon find you reinstated in your civil rights, I could not refrain from sending you a clear statement of my sentiments and wishes. 1

In the first place then let me tell you what is obvious and clear to me, and that is that Caesar will not be too hard upon you; circumstances, lapse of time, public opinion, and, I am inclined to think, his own disposition, are making him daily more lenient; and while that is what I feel about the others, I am also told that it is so in your case by his most intimate friends, to whom I have not ceased to make supplication in common with your brothers, ever since the news first came from Africa.[b] And I assure you, that through their unparalleled valour and loyalty and affection for you, and their constant and unceasing anxiety for your welfare, such progress is being made that there is no concession, I believe, which Caesar himself is not prepared to make. 2

But if it takes more time than we could wish, it is because, owing to the pressing engagements of one to whom all sorts of petitions are addressed, it 3

petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt; et simul, Africanae causae iratior, diutius velle videtur eos habere sollicitos, a quibus se putat diuturnioribus esse molestiis conflictatum. Sed hoc ipsum intellegimus eum quotidie remissius et placatius ferre. Quare mihi crede et memoriae manda, me tibi id affirmasse,
4 te in istis molestiis diutius non futurum. Quando, quid sentirem, exposui, quid velim tua causa, re potius quam oratione, declarabo. Et, si tantum possem, quantum in ea republica, de qua ita sum meritus, ut tu existimas, posse debebam, ne tu quidem in istis incommodis esses; eadem enim causa opes meas fregit, quae tuam salutem in discrimen adduxit. Sed tamen, quidquid imago veteris meae dignitatis, quidquid reliquiae gratiae valebunt, studium, consilium, opera, gratia, fides mea nullo loco deerit tuis optimis
5 fratribus. Tu fac habeas fortem animum, quem semper habuisti, primum ob eas causas, quas scripsi, deinde, quod ea de republica semper voluisti atque sensisti, ut non modo secunda sperare debeas, sed etiam, si omnia adversa essent, tamen conscientia et factorum et consiliorum tuorum, quaecumque acciderent, fortissimo et maximo animo ferre deberes.

[a] He refers to those—Metellus Scipio, Cato, Petreius, and others—who continued to prosecute the war in Africa after the battle of Pharsalia.





has been unusually difficult to approach him; and just now, as the African disaffection[a] has roused his particular indignation, I fancy he is inclined to keep on tenterhooks for a longer spell those who he thinks have given him a longer spell of trouble and annoyance. But even in regard to this we find him to be daily more yielding and conciliatory. You must therefore take my word for it, and make a mental note of it, that I have given you this specific assurance, that the painful position you are in will not last much longer.

Now that you have my candid opinion, what my 4
wishes are in your interests will appear from what I do rather than from what I say. Had I as much power as I ought to have in a state of which I have deserved as well as you, at any rate, consider I have, neither would you be so unfortunately situated as you are; for my ascendancy has been destroyed, and your welfare jeopardized, by one and the same cause. But for all that, so far as the shadow of my former position, so far as the little that is left of my popularity avails, my zeal and counsel, my efforts, influence, and loyalty will invariably be at the disposal of your excellent brothers.

See to it that you on your part maintain that 5
spirit of courage you have always maintained, firstly for the reason I have given you; secondly because your political aspirations and sentiments have always been such as not only to justify your looking forward to a prosperous future, but also, if your future were in all respects the reverse, to make it your duty, conscious as you are of all you have done and purposed to do, to face every eventuality with a high and heroic spirit.

## XIV

### CICERO LIGARIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Me scito omnem laborem, omnem operam, curam, studium in tua salute consumere. Nam cum te semper maxime dilexi, tum fratrum tuorum, quos aeque atque te summa benevolentia sum complexus, singularis pietas amorque fraternus nullum me patitur offici erga te studique munus aut tempus praetermittere. Sed quae faciam fecerimque pro te, ex illorum te litteris, quam ex meis, malo cognoscere. Quid autem sperem aut confidam et exploratum habeam de salute tua, id tibi a me declarari volo. Nam si quis est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum; et, si hoc vitium
2 est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ego idem tamen cum a. d. v. Kal. intercalares priores, rogatu fratrum tuorum, venissem mane ad Caesarem, atque omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulissem, cum fratres et propinqui tui iacerent ad pedes, et ego essem locutus, quae causa, quae tuum tempus postulabat, non solum ex oratione

[a] In this year (46) two extraordinary months, of twenty-nine and thirty-eight days respectively, were intercalated between November and December, in addition to the regular intercalary months of twenty-three days inserted between February and March. This year therefore consisted of 455 days.





## XIV

### CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, September 24, 46 B.C.

Rest assured that I am devoting all my energies, 1
all my efforts, care, and zeal to the question of your recall; for not only have I always had the highest regard for you, but your brothers also, to whom I am as warmly attached as to yourself, are so singularly dutiful to you in their brotherly affection that they make it impossible for me to omit any act or opportunity that may prove my eager desire to serve you. But what I am doing and have done on your behalf, I should prefer your learning from their letters rather than from mine.

On the other hand I should like to give you my own account of my hopes, indeed my confident and certain assurance, of your restoration. If any man in the world is a coward in matters of importance involving any risk, and always more inclined to apprehend an unfavourable, than to hope for a favourable, issue, I am that man; and if this be a weakness, I admit that I am not free from it.

But for all that, pessimist as I am, when, four 2
days before the Calends of the first intercalary month,[a] at your brothers' request I had made my way to Caesar early in the day (but not before I had suffered every kind of humiliation and annoyance in trying to approach him and securing an interview), when your brothers and relatives were prostrating themselves at his feet, and when I had stated all that the case and your critical position demanded, the impression left upon my mind when I went away,

Caesaris, quae sane mollis et liberalis fuit, sed etiam ex oculis et vultu, ex multis praeterea signis, quae facilius perspicere potui, quam scribere, hanc in opinionem discessi, ut mihi tua salus dubia non esset.
3 Quamobrem fac animo magno fortique sis et, si turbidissima sapienter ferebas, tranquilliora laete feras. Ego tamen tuis rebus sic adero, ut difficillimis, neque Caesari solum, sed etiam amicis eius omnibus, quos mihi amicissimos esse cognovi, pro te, sicut adhuc feci, libentissime supplicabo. Vale.

## XV

CICERO BASILO SAL.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

Tibi gratulor, mihi gaudeo; te amo, tua tueor; a te amari et, quid agas, quidque agatur, certior fieri volo.

## XVI

BITHYNICUS CICERONI S.

In Sicilia, A.U.C. 710.

Si mihi tecum non et multae et iustae causae amicitiae privatim essent, repeterem initia amicitiae

[a] L. Minucius Basilus held high office in Gaul under Caesar, whom he afterwards helped to assassinate. It is conjectured that Cicero wrote this note on the Ides of March in reply to a report of the assassination received from Basilus.

[b] Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, though himself a relative of Pompey's, fought during the civil war on Caesar's side. It seems that he was at this time propraetor in Sicily. He was afterwards put to death by Sextus Pompeius on a charge of plotting against him.





not only by Caesar's speech, mild and generous as it certainly was, but also by his eyes and expression, and by many other signs as well, which I could more easily discern than describe, was just this—I felt that your restoration was a certainty.

You must therefore be of good cheer and full of 3
courage, and since you have faced the most tempestuous times with the serenity of a philosopher, you must now welcome this calmer weather with a glad heart.

In any event I shall attend to your affairs as carefully as their extreme difficulty requires, and I shall have the greatest pleasure in making supplication on your behalf, as I have never yet ceased to do, not to Caesar only, but to all his friends, whom I have found to be very friendly disposed to myself.

## XV

CICERO TO BASILUS[a]

Rome, March 15 (?), 44 B.C.

I greet you. I am delighted on your account, and rejoice on my own; I love you, and have your interests at heart; I want you to love me too, and should like to know how you are, and what is going on.

## XVI

BITHYNICUS[b] TO CICERO

Sicily, probably March, 44 B.C.

I greet you. Had I not personally many valid reasons for my friendship with you, I should go back for the beginnings of that friendship to the days of

ex parentibus nostris; quod faciendum iis existimo, qui paternam amicitiam nullis ipsi officiis prosecuti sunt. Itaque contentus ero nostra ipsorum amicitia; cuius fiducia peto a te, ut absentem me, quibuscumque in rebus opus fuerit, tueare, si nullum officium tuum apud me intermoriturum existimas. Vale.

## XVII

CICERO BITHYNICO S.

Puteolis (?), A.U.C. 710.

1 Cum ceterarum rerum causa cupio esse aliquando rempublicam constitutam, tum velim mihi credas accedere, id etiam quo magis expetam, promissum tuum, quo in litteris uteris. Scribis enim, si ita sit, te
2 mecum esse victurum. Gratissima mihi tua voluntas est, facisque nihil alienum necessitudine nostra iudiciisque patris tui de me, summi viri. Nam sic habeto, beneficiorum magnitudine eos, qui temporibus valuerunt aut valent, coniunctiores tecum esse quam me, necessitudine neminem. Quamobrem grata mihi est et memoria tua nostrae coniunctionis et eius etiam augendae voluntas.





our fathers; but that I think is for those to do who have not followed up their fathers' friendship by any good offices of their own. I shall therefore be content with our own personal friendship, and that is what I rely upon when I beg of you to look after my interests in my absence, if you believe, as you do, that no kindness of yours will ever cease to live in my memory.

## XVII

CICERO TO BITHYNICUS

Place and date uncertain

I greet you. While I have every other reason 1
for desiring the establishment some day or other of a Republic, I would have you believe that I have an additional reason which increases my longing for it, and that is the promise you make in your letter; for you write that in that event you will spend your days in my company.

It is a great pleasure to me that you should wish 2
to do so, and your wish is in exact accord with our intimate friendship, and the opinions of me expressed from time to time by that prince of men, your father. For let me assure you that while those who have been, or still are, according to the vicissitudes of the times, in a position to help you are more closely bound to you by the magnitude of their services, there is no man more closely so bound by the ties of friendship than myself. And that is why I am so delighted at your not only remembering our intimacy, but even wishing to increase it.

## XVIII

### CICERO LEPTAE

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Simul accepi a Seleuco tuo litteras, statim quaesivi e Balbo per codicillos, quid esset in lege. Rescripsit eos, qui facerent praeconium, vetari esse in decurionibus; qui fecissent, non vetari. Quare bono animo sint et tui et mei familiares; neque enim erat ferendum, cum, qui hodie haruspicinam facerent, in senatum Romae legerentur, eos, qui aliquando praeconium fecissent, in municipiis decuriones esse non
2 licere. De Hispaniis novi nihil. Magnum tamen exercitum Pompeium habere constat; nam Caesar ipse ad nos misit exemplum Paciaeci litterarum, in quo erat, illas undecim esse legiones. Scripserat etiam Messala Q. Salasso P. Curtium fratrem eius iussu Pompeii inspectante exercitu interfectum, quod consensisset cum Hispanis quibusdam, si in oppidum nescio quod Pompeius rei frumentariae causa venisset,
3 eum comprehendere ad Caesaremque deducere. De

[a] *Cf.* iii. 7. 4 and 9. 13. Lepta had been Cicero's *praefectus fabrum* in Cilicia. He had been a Pompeian, but was now applying to Caesar for some contract in connexion with the public games given by the latter this year. See the next Letter.

[b] The Lex Iulia Municipalis. Auctioneers were regarded with detestation, like pawnbrokers and usurers with us, as trading on the misfortunes of others, and were therefore excluded from the municipal magistracy and senate.—Tyrrell.

[c] Cicero alludes to one Ruspina, a diviner, whom Caesar had made a Roman senator. *Haruspices* were excluded from the Roman Senate as being foreigners, and perhaps also as taking money for their services.





## XVIII

### CICERO TO QUINTUS LEPTA [a]

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

As soon as I received your letter from the hand of 1
your freedman Seleucus, I at once sent a note to Balbus, asking him what was in the law.[b] His answer was that while those who were actually in business as auctioneers were forbidden to be municipal councillors, those who had retired were not so forbidden. So your friends and mine must be of good heart; for it would be intolerable if, when men who were at this moment practising divination[c] were being elected on the Senate at Rome, men who had at any time practised as auctioneers should not be allowed to be councillors in the provincial towns.

There is no news of either of the Spains. It is 2
certain, however, that Pompey[d] has a large army; for Caesar himself sent me a copy of Paciaecus's[e] dispatch, in which the number of legions there is stated to be eleven. Messala[f] also has written to Quintus Salassus that his brother[g] Publius Curtius was executed by order of Pompey before the eyes of the army, for having arranged, as was alleged, with certain Spaniards that, when Pompey had arrived at some town or other to negotiate for supplies, they should arrest him and take him to Caesar.

[d] Gnaeus, the elder son of Pompey the Great.

[e] L. Iunius Paciaecus is mentioned in *De bello Hispaniensi* as a distinguished and capable man, a native of Spain, whom Caesar sent to relieve Utica when besieged by Pompey.

[f] M. Valerius Messala, consul in 52 B.C.

[g] *i.e.*, Q. Salassus's brother.

negotio tuo, quod sponsor es pro Pompeio, si Galba consponsor tuus redierit, homo in re familiari non parum diligens, non desinam cum illo communicare, si quid expediri possit, quod videbatur mihi ille
4 confidere. *Oratorem* meum tanto opere a te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me, quidquid habuerim iudici de dicendo, in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego quoque aliquid sum; sin aliter, non recuso quin, quantum de illo libro, tantumdem de mei iudici fama detrahatur. Leptam nostrum cupio delectari iam talibus scriptis; etsi abest maturitas aetatis, iam tamen personare aures eius huiusmodi
5 vocibus, non est inutile. Me Romae tenuit omnino Tulliae meae partus. Sed cum ea, quemadmodum spero, satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellae procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem; et, mehercule, non tam sum peregrinator iam, quam solebam. Aedificia mea me delectabant et otium. Domus est, quae nulli villarum mearum cedat, otium omni desertissima regione maius. Itaque ne litterae quidem meae impediuntur; in quibus sine ulla interpellatione versor. Quare, ut arbitror, prius hic te

[a] Galba had been Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, but afterwards joined the conspirators against him. He was great-grandfather of the emperor Galba.

[b] His treatise *Ad Marcum Brutum Orator*, written in the preceding year.

[c] Son of the man he is addressing.

[d] Of Tullia's dowry, to be repaid by Dolabella in consequence of her divorce. See Chron. Sum. for 45 B.C.





As regards your business, seeing that you are a 3
guarantee for Pompey, if only your co-guarantee Galba,[a] a man more than a little careful in money matters, returns to Rome, I shall not cease to confer with him to find some way out of the difficulty; for I think he trusts me.

I am extremely glad that you are so favourably 4
impressed with my *Orator*.[b] Indeed it is my own conviction that I have concentrated upon that book whatever critical ability I possessed on the subject of oratory. And if the book is really such as you say you think it is, then I too am of some consequence; if not, then I have no objection to my general reputation for critical ability being disparaged in exact proportion to the disparagement of that particular book. I am anxious that our dear Lepta,[c] young as he is, should find pleasure in such compositions; though his age is hardly ripe for it, still it can do him no harm to let his ears ring with language of that kind.

I am detained at Rome in any case by my dear 2
Tullia's confinement. But even when she is strong again, as I hope she will be, I am still tied by the leg until I can screw the first instalment[d] out of Dolabella's agents and, to tell you the truth, I am not so keen on travelling as I used to be. I used to delight in my country houses, and their restfulness. My house here is as comfortable as any of my villas, and more restful than the most sequestered spot in the world. So my literary work does not suffer either; I am absorbed in it and there is nothing to interrupt me, and that is why I think I am more likely to see you here than you are to see me at your place.

6 nos, quam istic tu nos videbis. Lepta suavissimus ediscat Hesiodum et habeat in ore,

τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα, et cetera.

## XIX

### CICERO LEPTAE

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Maculam officio functum esse gaudeo. Eius Falernum mihi semper idoneum visum est deversorio, si modo tecti satis est ad comitatum nostrum recipiendum. Ceteroqui mihi locus non displicet; nec ea re Petrinum tuum deseram; nam et villa et amoe-
2 nitas illa commorationis est, non deversori. De curatione aliqua munerum regiorum[1] cum Oppio locutus sum. Nam Balbum, posteaquam tu es profectus, non vidi: tantis pedum doloribus afficitur, ut se conveniri nolit. Omnino de tota re, ut mihi videtur, sapientius faceres, si non curares. Quod enim eo labore assequi vis, nullo modo assequere. Tanta est enim intimorum multitudo, ut ex iis aliquis potius effluat, quam novo sit aditus, praesertim qui nihil afferat praeter operam, in qua ille se dedisse beneficium putabit (si modo id ipsum sciet), non accepisse.

[1] *MR.*

[a] The full line is τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν (Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 289), "but before excellence the gods set sweat," *i.e.*, excellence can only be reached after hard toil.

[b] Possibly P. Pompeius Macula, a lover of Fausta, daughter of Sulla.

[c] Near Sinuessa, between Latium and Campania.

[d] Lepta was anxious to secure a contract for the supply of wine (*curatio vini*). *Regiorum* is a reading supported by Cicero's speaking of Caesar as *rex* in *Att.* xiii. 37. 2.





Let Lepta, that most delightful of boys, get up his Hesiod by heart and have this on his lips: Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα,[a] and the rest of it. 6

## XIX

### CICERO TO THE SAME

Astura, July, 45 B.C.

I am glad Macula[b] has done his duty. I have 1
always thought his Falernian villa just the place for a short visit, provided it is capacious enough to take in our retinue. In every other respect it is a place I rather like; but I shall not for that reason turn my back on your Petrine[c] villa; for both the house itself and its wonderfully beautiful situation suggest a prolonged residence there rather than a flying visit.

I have had a conversation with Oppius about 2
a certain contract in connexion with the royal shows.[d] Balbus I have not seen since you left; he has such an attack of gout in the feet that he is disinclined for an interview. On the whole, taking everything into consideration, I think your wiser course is not to undertake that responsibility; for your object in taking all that trouble is one you will by no means attain. So numerous are the applicants in close personal touch with him that there is more likelihood of one of them dropping out than of there being an opening for a fresh candidate, especially for one who has nothing to offer but his own toil and trouble; and as to that Caesar will think that he has conferred a favour, if he ever knows anything at all about it, rather than received one. We will

Sed tamen aliquid videbimus, in quo sit spes. Aliter quidem non modo non appetendum, sed etiam fugiendum puto. Ego me Asturae diutius arbitror commoraturum, quoad ille quandoque[1] veniat.

## XX

CICERO TORANIO S.

Tusculi, A.U.C. 709.

1 Dederam triduo ante pueris Cn. Plancii litteras ad te. Eo nunc ero brevior, teque, ut antea consolabar, hoc tempore monebo. Nihil puto tibi esse utilius, quam ibidem opperiri, quoad scire possis, quid tibi agendum sit. Nam praeter navigationis longae et hiemalis et minime portuosae periculum, quod vitaveris, ne illud quidem non quantivis, subito, cum certi aliquid audieris, te istinc posse proficisci. Nihil est praeterea, cur advenientibus te offerre gestias. Multa praeterea metuo, quae cum Cilone nostro

2 communicavi. Quid multa? Loco opportuniore in his malis nullo esse potuisti, ex quo te, quocumque opus erit, facillime et expeditissime conferas. Quod si recipiet ille se ad tempus, aderis; sin (quoniam

[1] quandoque *not being used elsewhere by Cicero in this sense, Reid suggests* quoad <sciam qua> quandoque veniat, "*until I know where* and when *he is coming*."

[a] Such as Lepta would hardly get by the *curatio vini*.

[b] C. Toranius had been aedile with the father of Octavian, who made him guardian of his son. He was now living in exile in Corcyra. He wished to meet Caesar in Cisalpine Gaul, and conciliate him by congratulating him on his victories, and so obtain his pardon.

[c] Also an exile in Corcyra. See note on iv. 14.

[d] Caesar and his retinue, on their way to Rome from Spain. Toranius had intended to cross Italy from the east coast, and meet Caesar somewhere in Gaul.





none the less keep our eyes open for something that holds out a better prospect.[a] Otherwise, so far from seeking, I think you should fight shy of such a contract. I shall myself stay on at Astura until Caesar arrives, if he ever does.

## XX

CICERO TO C. TORANIUS [b]

Tusculum, July, 45 B.C.

I gave Cn. Plancius's [c] servants a letter for you three days ago, so this will be all the shorter, and, as previously I offered you consolation, so now I shall give you advice. I think you can do nothing better than wait just where you are until you can find out what you ought to do. For apart from the danger you will thus avoid of a long voyage in winter, where there are very few harbours to run into, this also is a consideration of no trivial importance, that you can get away from where you are, as soon as you hear anything definite, at a moment's notice. There is, moreover, no reason whatever for your being in such a hurry to meet them [d] on their approach. There are many things besides which make me apprehensive, and I have talked them over with our friend Cilo. 1

To put it shortly, you could not during these troubles be in any place more conveniently situated, as you can move from it wherever it is necessary with the greatest ease and expedition. But if Caesar returns at the proper time, you will be on the spot; whereas, since there are many things that might 2

multa accidere possunt) aliqua res eum vel impediet vel morabitur, tu ibi eris, ubi omnia scire possis. Hoc
3 mihi prorsus valde placet. De reliquo, ut te saepe per litteras hortatus sum, ita velim tibi persuadeas, te in hac causa nihil habere, quod tibi timendum sit praeter communem casum civitatis; qui etsi est gravissimus, tamen ita viximus et id aetatis iam sumus, ut omnia, quae non nostra culpa nobis accidant, fortiter ferre debeamus. Hic tui omnes valent, summaque pietate te desiderant et diligunt et colunt. Tu et cura ut valeas et te istinc ne temere commoveas.

## XXI

CICERO TORANIO

Ficuleae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Etsi, cum haec ad te scribebam, aut appropinquare exitus huius calamitosissimi belli aut iam aliquid actum et confectum videbatur, tamen quotidie commemorabam te unum in tanto exercitu mihi fuisse assensorem et me tibi, solosque nos vidisse, quantum esset in eo bello mali, in quo, spe pacis exclusa, ipsa victoria futura esset acerbissima, quae aut interitum allatura esset, si victus esses, aut, si vicisses, servitutem. Itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri et sapientes, Domitii et Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant

[a] The news of Caesar's victory at Munda had not yet arrived, but such news was daily expected.

[b] The Pompeian army at Dyrrachium. Cicero found such fault with the whole conduct of the war that Pompey is said to have wished that he would go over to Caesar.





happen, if anything either hinders or stops him, you will be so placed as to find out all that is going on. I am most decidedly of that opinion.

For the rest, as I have frequently urged you to do 3
by letter, I pray you assure yourself of this, that in your position you have nothing you need fear beyond the catastrophe in which the whole state is involved. And though that is most grave, still we have so lived, and are now of such an age, that we ought to bear with fortitude anything that may happen to us through no fault of our own. All your people here are well and are most loyal in their longing for your return, and in their regard and veneration for you. Mind you keep well yourself and do not stir, without good reason, from where you are.

## XXI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Ficulea (?), April (?), 45 B.C.

Although, as I write these words, it seems that 1
the end of this most disastrous war is approaching,[a] or at any rate that something definite has at last been done and accomplished, still not a day passes without my remarking that you were the one man in all that army[b] who agreed with me, as I with you, and that we alone understood the vast amount of evil that war entailed—a war in which, all hope of peace being ruled out, conquest itself was predestined to be full of bitterness, since it would either bring ruin upon you if defeated, or enslavement if victorious. And therefore I, whom those wise and gallant men, the Domitii and Lentuli, accused of being afraid,—

—eram plane: timebam enim, ne evenirent ea, quae acciderunt—idem nunc nihil timeo et ad omnem eventum paratus sum. Cum aliquid videbatur caveri posse, tum id neglegi dolebam; nunc vero, eversis omnibus rebus, cum consilio profici nihil possit, una ratio videtur, quidquid evenerit, ferre moderate, praesertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum, et mihi sim conscius, me, quoad licuerit, dignitati reipublicae consuluisse, et hac amissa salutem reti-
2 nere voluisse. Haec scripsi, non ut de me ipse dicerem, sed ut tu, qui coniunctissima fuisti mecum et sententia et voluntate, eadem cogitares. Magna enim consolatio est, cum recordare, etiamsi secus acciderit, te tamen recte vereque sensisse. Atque utinam liceat aliquando, aliquo reipublicae statu nos frui, inter nosque conferre sollicitudines nostras, quas pertulimus tum, cum timidi putabamur, quia dice-
3 bamus ea futura, quae facta sunt. De tuis rebus nihil esse, quod timeas praeter universae reipublicae interitum, tibi confirmo; de me autem sic velim iudices, quantum ego possim, me tibi, saluti tuae, liberisque tuis summo cum studio praesto semper futurum. Vale.





and so I undoubtedly was; I was afraid that that would come to pass, which actually did happen,—am now on the contrary afraid of nothing, and there is no contingency for which I am not prepared. While some degree of precaution seemed practicable, it pained me to see that precaution neglected; as it is, however, amid this universal ruin, when a policy of prudence can do no good, it seems that the one course left to us is to bear whatever happens with self-restraint, especially since death is the end of all things, and my conscience tells me that as long as I had the chance I took steps to protect the dignity, and when that was lost, that I was eager to maintain the safety, of the Republic.

I have written thus, not because I want to talk 2
about myself, but so that you, who have always been so closely associated with me both in conviction and aspiration, may indulge in the same reflections. For it is no small consolation when you recollect that, even if affairs have turned out badly, you at any rate were incontrovertibly right in your opinions. And I do pray that the day will come when we may enjoy some form or other of stable government, and compare notes together on the anxious days we passed through, when we were suspected of timidity, because we declared that that would happen which actually took place.

As regards your own affairs, I emphatically 3
assure you that, apart from the ruin of the Republic as a whole, you have nothing to fear; while as regards myself, I beg of you to think this of me—that to the best of my ability, I shall always be at hand to promote your own welfare and that of your children with the utmost possible zeal.

## XXII

### CICERO DOMITIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Non ea res me deterruit quo minus, posteaquam in Italiam venisti, litteras ad te mitterem, quod tu ad me nullas miseras, sed quia nec, quid tibi pollicerer, ipse egens rebus omnibus, nec, quid suaderem, cum mihimetipsi consilium deesset, nec, quid consolationis afferrem in tantis malis, reperiebam. Haec quamquam nihilo meliora sunt nunc, atque etiam multo desperatiora, tamen inanes esse meas litteras, quam
2 nullas, malui. Ego, si te intellegerem plus conatum esse suscipere reipublicae causa muneris, quam quantum praestare potuisses, tamen, quibuscumque rebus possem, ad eam condicionem te vivendi, quae daretur, quaeque esset, hortarer. Sed cum consili tui bene fortiterque suscepti eum tibi finem statueris, quem ipsa fortuna terminum nostrarum contentionum esse voluisset, oro obtestorque te pro vetere nostra coniunctione ac necessitudine proque summa mea in te benevolentia et tua in me pari, te ut nobis, parenti, coniugi tuisque omnibus, quibus es fuistique semper

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[a] Son of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, a staunch aristocrat, who was compelled by his own troops to surrender to Caesar at Corfinium in 49. He commanded Pompey's left wing at the battle of Pharsalia, and fell by the hand of Antony. His son Gnaeus, to whom Cicero writes, was also present at Pharsalia, but was pardoned by Caesar, and returned to Italy in 46, after the battle of Thapsus in that year. He was inclined in his despair to join the remnants of the Pompeian party in Spain, but Cicero had dissuaded him from doing so.

[b] *i.e.*, to follow your uncle Cato to Africa and fight there.





## XXII

### CICERO TO CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS [a]

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

It was not the fact of your having sent me no 1
letter that put me off writing to you after your arrival in Italy; no, it was because I could not think of any promise I could make you, being myself utterly destitute, or of any course of action I could recommend, having no policy whatever of my own, or of any consolation I could offer you in these terrible times. Although the present situation shows no improvement whatever and is even far more hopeless than it was, still I thought that a letter from me with nothing in it would be better than no letter at all.

If I believed that you had attempted in the 2
interests of the state to undertake a task [b] beyond your power to accomplish, I should still urge you, to the best of my ability, to accept such terms of life as were offered you, and were available. But seeing that you have resolved that the policy you so honourably and gallantly adopted should cease from the very moment when it had pleased fortune herself to put an end to our struggles,[c] I beg and implore of you in the name of our old and intimate connexion and of my most sincere affection for you, and of yours, just as sincere, for myself, to keep yourself out of harm for all our sakes, for the sake of your mother,[d] your wife, and all your family, to whom you are and always have been

[c] By the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia.

[d] Porcia, sister of Cato of Utica.

carissimus, salvum conserves; incolumitati tuae tuorumque, qui ex te pendent, consulas; quae didicisti, quaeque ab adolescentia pulcherrime a sapientissimis viris tradita, memoria et scientia comprehendisti, iis hoc tempore utare; quos coniunctos summa benevolentia plurimisque officiis amisisti, eorum desiderium, si non aequo animo, at forti feras.
3 Ego, quid possim, nescio, vel potius me parum posse sentio; illud tamen tibi polliceor, me, quaecumque saluti dignitatique tuae conducere arbitrabor, tanto studio esse facturum, quanto semper tu et studio et officio in meis rebus fuisti. Hanc meam voluntatem ad matrem tuam, optimam feminam tuique amantissimam, detuli. Si quid ad me scripseris, ita faciam, ut te velle intellexero. Sin autem tu minus scripseris, ego tamen omnia, quae tibi utilia esse arbitrabor, summo studio diligenterque curabo. Vale.

[a] What Domitius had done, or signified his intention of doing, to call for so long and earnest an exhortation, must remain unknown. Perhaps he had threatened to join the Pompeian party in Spain, which Tyrrell and Purser consider more likely than that he contemplated suicide.





most dear; to take thought for your own safety and that of those who are dependent upon you; to apply to the present crisis all the lessons you have learned, all the wisdom bequeathed you by the greatest philosophers, which you have so admirably stored in your memory and assimilated in mind from the days of your early manhood; and finally, to bear, if not with calmness, at least with courage, your yearning for those bound to you by the strongest ties of affection and a thousand acts of kindness—the friends you have now lost.[a]

What I can do myself, I know not, or rather I 3
feel that what I can do is all too little; this much, however, I promise you, that whatever I deem conducive to your welfare and honour, that I will do with as much earnestness as you have consistently shown, and effectively too, in dealing with my affairs. These good intentions of mine I have conveyed to your mother, who is the best of women and most devoted to you.

If you send me any message, I shall act in accordance with what I conceive to be your wishes; but even if you fail to do so, I shall none the less attend most zealously and assiduously to whatever I consider to be to your advantage. Farewell.

# CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LETTERS based on the order fixed in R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. vii., Dublin, 1901 (by kind permission of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin).

ABBREVIATIONS

A = *Epistulae ad Atticum.*
F = *Epistulae ad Familiares.*
Q.Fr. = *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem.*
Br. = *Epistulae ad M. Brutum.*

B.C.

68 A i. 5, 6, 7 ?
67 A i. 9, 8, 10, 11
66 A i. 3, 4
65 A i. 1, 2
64 [*Q. Cic. de petit. consul.*]
63 F xiii. 76 ?
62 F v. 7, 1, 2, 6
61 A i. 12, F v. 5, A i. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
60 A i. 18, 19, 20, ii. 1, 2, 3, Q.Fr. i. 1
59 A ii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, Q.Fr. i. 2, F xiii. 42, 41 ; also 43 ? (before 58 B.C. ; so also xiii. 44, 45, 46)
58 A iii. 3, 2, 4, 1, 5, 6, F xiv. 4, A iii. 7, 8, 9, Q.Fr. i. 3, A iii. 10, 11, 12, 14, 13, Q.Fr. i. 4, A iii. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, F xiv. 2, A iii. 21, 22, F xiv. 1, A iii. 23, F xiv. 3, A iii. 24, 25
57 A iii. 26, 27, F v. 4, A iv. 1, 2, 3, Q.Fr. ii. 1, F vii. 26; also xiii. 51 ?
56 F i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, Q.Fr. ii. 2, A iv. 4, Q.Fr. ii. 3, F i. 5b, 6, Q.Fr. ii. 4, 5, A iv. 4a, 5, F v. 12, A iv. 6, 7, 8, F v. 3, i. 7, xiii. 6a, 6b, Q.Fr. ii. 8 (= 6), A iv. 8a

# ORDER OF THE LETTERS

B.C.

55 F i. 8, Q.Fr. ii. 9 (= 7), A iv. 10, 9, Q.Fr. ii. 10 (= 8), A iv. 11, 12, F vii. 2, 3, 1, xiii. 74, 40, A iv. 13

54 F v. 8, Q.Fr. ii. 11 (= 9), 12 (= 10), F vii. 5, Q.Fr. ii. 13 (= 11), F vii. 6, 7, A iv. 14, Q.Fr. ii. 14 (= 12), F vii. 8, Q.Fr. ii. 15a (= 13), 15b (= 14), A iv. 15, 16, Q.Fr. ii. 16 (= 15), iii. 1, A iv. 17 (part) plus 18 (part), F vii. 9, 17, Q.Fr. iii. 2, 3, 4, A iv. 18 (part), Q.Fr. iii. 5 plus 6, 7, F vii. 16, Q.Fr. iii. 8, A iv. 19 (part), 17 (part), Q.Fr. iii. 9, F i. 9, vii. 10, i. 10, xiii. 49, 60, 73

53 F ii. 1, vii. 11, ii. 2, 3, vii. 12, 13, 14, 18, 15, ii. 4, 5, 6, xiii. 75 ; also xvi. 13 ?, 14 ?, 15 ?, 10 ?, 16 ?

52 F v. 17, 18, iii. 1, vii. 2

51 F iii. 2, A v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, F iii. 3, viii. 1, A v. 8, F iii. 4, A v. 9, F viii. 2, 3, A v. 10, F xiii. 1, A v. 11, F ii. 8, A v. 12, 13, 14, F iii. 5, viii. 4, A v. 15, 16, 17, F viii. 5, 9, xv. 3, iii. 6, xv. 7, 8, 9, 12, A v. 18, F xv. 2, A v. 19, F xv. 1, iii. 8, viii. 8, ii. 9, 10, viii. 10, ii. 7, A v. 20, F vii. 32, xiii. 53, 56, 55, 61, 62, 64, 65, 9 ; also 47 ?

50 F xv. 4, 10, 13, 14, viii. 6, 7, iii. 7, ii. 14, ix. 25, xiii. 59, 58, iii. 9, A v. 21, F xiii. 63, A vi. 1, F xiii. 54, 57, ii. 11, A vi. 2, F ii. 13, 18, xiii. 2, 3, iii. 10, ii. 19, 12, A vi. 3, F iii. 11, xv. 5, viii. 11, A vi. 4, 5, 7, F viii. 13, ii. 17, 15, xv. 11, iii. 12, A vi. 6, F iii. 13, xv. 6, viii. 12, 14, A vi. 8, 9, F xiv. 5, A vii. 1, F xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, A vii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

49 F xvi. 11, v. 20, A vii. 10, 11, 12, F xiv. 18, A vii. 13, 13a, F xiv. 14, A vii. 14, 15, F xvi. 12, A vii. 16, F xvi. 8, A vii. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, viii. 11a, vii. 25, viii. 12b, vii. 26, viii. 1, 11b, 12c, 12d, 2, 12a, 3, 11c, 6, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11d, 12, F viii. 15, A viii. 15a, 13, 14, 15, 16, ix. 1, 2, 12a, 3, 5, 7a, 6, 6a, 7c, 7b, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11a, 11, 12, 13a, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, x. 1, 2, 3, 3a, 4, 9a (= F viii. 16), A x. 5, 8a, 8b, 6, F iv. 1, A x. 7, F iv. 2, 19, A x. 8, 9, F ii. 16, A x. 10, 11, 12, 12a, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, F xiv. 7

48 A xv. 1, 2, F viii. 17, ix. 9, xiv. 8, A xi. 3, F xiv. 21, A xi. 4, F xiv. 6, 12, A xi. 5, F xiv. 19, A xi. 6, F xiv. 9, A xi. 7, F xiv. 17, A xi. 8

47 A xi. 9, F xiv. 6, A xi. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,

# ORDER OF THE LETTERS

B.C.

F xiv. 11, A xi. 18, F xiv. 15, A xi. 25, 23, F xiv. 10, 13, A xi. 19, 24, F xiv. 24, 23, A xi. 20, 21, 22, F xiv. 22, xv. 15, xiv. 20, 21 ; also xiii. 48 ?

46 F xiii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, xi. 1, xiii. 29, v. 21, A xii. 2, F ix. 3, 2, 7, 5, vii. 3, vi. 22, ix. 4, A xii. 5c, 3, 4, F ix. 6, A xii. 5, F ix. 16, 18, vii. 33, ix. 20, vii. 27, 28, ix. 19, 26, 17, 15, xiii. 68, iv. 13, 15, 8, 7, 9, vi. 6, 13, 12, 10a, 10b, xii. 17, iv. 3, 4, 11, ix. 21, vi. 14, A xii. 6a, 6b, 7, 8, 11, F vii. 4, ix. 23, A xii. 1, F xiii. 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28a, 28b, 78, 79, vi. 8, 9, v. 16, xv. 18 ; also xii. 20 ?, xiii. 52 ?

45 F xv. 16, vi. 7, 5, 18, iv. 14, 10, ix. 10, vi. 1, 3, 4, xv. 17, 19, ix. 13, xiii. 16, A xii. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 17, 18a, 19, 20, xiii. 6, F iv. 5, A xii. 12, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 30, 32, 31, 34, 35 ?, F xiii. 15, v. 13, vi. 21, iv. 6, vi. 2, ix. 11, 36, 37, 37a, 38, 38a, 39, 40, F v. 14, A xii. 42, F v. 15, A xii. 41, 43, 44, 45 ?, xiii. 26, xii. 46, 47, 48, 50, 49, 51, 52, 53, xiii. 1, 2, 27, 28, 29, 2a, 30, 31, 32, xii. 5a, F iv. 12, A xiii. 4, 5, 33, 6a, 8, 7, 7a, xii. 5b, F vi. 11, A xiii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21a, F ix. 22, A xiii. 20, 22, 33a, 23, F xiii. 77, v. 9, A xiii. 24, 25, F ix. 8, A xiii. 35, 36, 43, F. vi. 20, A xiii. 44, 34, F vi. 19, A xii. 9, F xvi. 22, A xii. 10, xiii. 21, F xvi. 17, A xiii. 47a, F xvi. 19, A xiii. 48, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, F vii. 24, A xiii. 49, 50, F vii. 35, A xiii. 51, F xii. 18, 19, xiii. 4, 5, 7, 8, v. 11, vii. 29, v. 10b, A xiii. 52, F ix. 12, A xiii. 42, F xiii. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, xvi. 18, 20

44 F vii. 30, viii. 50, v. 10a, vii. 31, xii. 21, vi. 15, xi. 1, vi. 16, xv. 20, A xiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, F vi. 17, A xiv. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13a, 13b, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17a (= F ix. 14), F xii. 1, A xiv. 17, 19, 18, 20, 21, 22, xv. 1, 1a, 2, 3, 4, 4a, F xii. 16, A xv. 6, 5, 7, F xi. 2, A xv. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 16a, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, F xvi. 23, A xv. 22, 23, 24, 14, 25, F vii. 21, 22, xi. 29, A xv. 26, 27, 28, xvi. 16, 16a, xv. 29, xvi. 1, 5, 4, 2, 3, F vii. 20, A xvi. 6, F vii. 19, A xvi. 16b, 16c, 16d, 16e, 16f, F xi. 3, A xvi. 7, F xi. 27, 28, xvi. 21, x. 1, 2, xii. 22 (1-2), 2, xvi. 25, xi. 4, 6 (1), xii. 3, 23, A xv. 13, xvi. 8, 9, 11, 12, 10, 13a, 13b, 13c, 14,

B.C.

F xvi. 24, A xvi. 15, F xi. 5, x. 3, xi. 7, 6 (2-3), ii. 22 (3-4), xvi. 26, 27, x. 4

43 F x. 5, xi. 8, xii. 24, 4, x. 28, ix. 24, xii. 5, 11, 7, x. 31, xii. 25a, x. 6, 27, xii. 28, 26, 27, 29, x. 7, 8, 10, xii. 6, Br. ii. 1, 3, 2, F x. 12, Br. ii. 4, F x. 30, Br. ii. 5, i. 2, sects. 4-6, i. 3, sects. 1-3, F x. 9, Br. i. 3, sect. 4, F xi. 9, 11, 13b, xii. 25b, Br. i. 5, F x. 14, xi. 10, 11, xii. 12, x. 13, xi. 13a, 15, 21, sects. 1-6, Br. i. 4, sects. 1-3, F x. 21, Br. i. 4, sects. 4-6, F xi. 12, x. 34a, 18, xi. 18, Br. i. 6, 1, 2, sects. 1-3, F x. 17, xi. 19, x. 34, sects. 3-4, xi. 20, 23, x. 19, 25, 16, xii. 15, sects. 1-6, 14, x. 20, 35, Br. i. 8, F xi. 16, 17, x. 33, Br. i. 11, 17, F xii. 15, xi. 26, 21, 24, x. 23, 32, Br. i. 10, F xii. 8, 30, xi. 13, sects. 4-5, xii. 13, Br. i. 9, F xi. 25, xii. 9, Br. i. 7, F xi. 15, x. 22, 26, Br. i. 13, F xii. 10, x. 29, xi. 32, Br. i. 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, F x. 24

# INDEX OF NAMES

(*The References are to the Book, Letter, and Section*)

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